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ABSTRACT

The final report of a project group representing the 18 member countries of the Council of Europe Council for Cultural Co-operation investigates education and cultural development of migrants. The report discusses methodology and reasons for selecting an intercultural approach to migrant education in terms of interculturalism's basic elements: society is multicultural and will become more so, each culture has its own specific features to be respected, and multiculturalism is a potential asset if communication and interaction occur among all cultures without obliterating the identity of any culture. The report establishes facts/trends of European immigration; demonstrates how immigration transforms social/cultural environments and challenges education systems; clarifies concepts such as culture, multicultural education, ethnic identity, negotiability of values, and integration/social cohesion; discusses prerequisites for success of educational/cultural projects; and identifies ideal settings and principal agents for implementing immigrant education projects. A summary of the group's work includes predictions and implications for future development of migrant education including emergence of transcendent cultural forms and increased opportunities for social promotion resulting from better education/economic situations. The report offers recommendations for intercultural education and follow-up activities to this project. A glossary of immigration terms, an interim report explaining the choice of the intercultural approach, and lists of project members, documents, and meetings are appended. (LFL)

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"The education and cultural development of migrants"

Final report of the project group

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COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION
School Education Division

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N O T E

A la demande de la délégation de la République Fédérale d'Allemagne auprès du CDCC, il est spécifié que les termes «immigré» et «immigration» utilisés dans ce texte doivent être remplacés, pour ce qui concerne la République Fédérale d'Allemagne, par les termes «migrant» et «migration».

N O T I C E

At the request of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the CDCC, it should be noted that the terms «immigrant» and «immigration» used in this text should be replaced, as regards the Federal Republic of Germany, by the terms «migrant» and «migration».

Strasbourg
1986

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F O R E W O R D

The following text is the result of a five years' work and reflects thoughts, findings, conclusions and recommendations of the Group entrusted with the project on the education and cultural development of migrants.

This report was presented in its provisional version at the closing conference which took place from 7 to 11 April 1986 in Rotterdam. The discussions held in Rotterdam are set out in a separate document (see general report DECS/EGT (86) 33, drawn up by Mrs L van den Berg-Eldering): however, several ideas and suggestions expressed at the conference have been integrated in Part III of the final report.

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PART I

Intercultural education today - methodological remarks

by

Louis PORCHER
Chairman of Project Group No. 7

I shall not repeat what was said in the interim report written in 1983 (halfway through the project) by the Chairman of Project Group No. 7 and approved by the members of the Group. Let me simply recall that when the report was presented to the CDCC for discussion in February 1984, the vote at the close of the session to adopt the text was unanimous but for just two abstentions.

The point to be made at this juncture is that our group of experts has not been working in isolation or secrecy. Both the content and the methods set forth in the official terms of reference, given in 1980, have been complied with. There have been regular progress reports, and the CDCC has confirmed its confidence in the group and encouraged it to continue along the same lines.

The numerous publications as work has proceeded have made our general approach and the options taken clear to all. A large number of case-studies were made in many different countries, and there were several intensive group visits. Colloquies were organised and seminars/workshops set up all over Europe with the Group's assistance and effective participation. An impact was also made on the media.

In short, Project Group No. 7 opted for the greatest clarity from the outset, announcing its ideas, talking about its plans and achievements, seeking assistance and co-operation and contributing to discussion. We felt we had put an end to ivory towers and working in a vacuum; the matters under consideration required great open-mindedness, constant debate, attention to an ever-changing reality and readiness to work together. Accordingly, we deliberately opted for numerous meetings and publications, the two essential means of revealing a train of thought and demonstrating a desire to promote the exchange of ideas and an interplay of arguments, experiences and options. It was vital for the Group to develop a multiplicity of outside contacts.

This implied furthermore that the Group should make its choices and approaches perfectly clear to all its own members, and for this reason none of the above actions was decided, commenced or completed before the Group or the representative bodies set up within it had been consulted and had given their views. The Chairman never had to take a decision single-handed. Inside information on all approaches envisaged thus enabled each member to assist in defining them.

This meant that the Group as a whole was unanimously committed to any approach once it was decided upon in accordance with the three major operational principles of regular liaison with the CDCC under the terms of reference, unbroken links with the outside world (by distributing our own products and inviting outside opinions in return) and collective control of decision-making.

Other working methods would of course have been possible. Those employed were adopted, by consensus, because, as the Group very soon realised, it should be made clear that we are all in the same boat where migration and educational and cultural development are concerned, notwithstanding personal differences and conflicting alternatives.

Agreement on the need for co-operation does not however imply an inclination to disregard conflicts and contrasts, which are plainly part of the make-up of the field under consideration, but simply the desire for a joint effort either to identify points on which everyone agrees or to rigorously clarify the areas of disagreement (concerning assessment, interest, priority etc). Not one member of the Group was unaware that the field in question, like all areas of social inquiry, involved inequalities and conflicts, domination and confrontation, differences and similarities, oppositions and constraints. The field encompasses antagonisms and similarities, common purpose and shared endeavour, tolerance and open-mindedness, correspondences and common features, or affinities and sympathies. This again is a sort of stock-taking inventory long familiar to all, a sudden insight into the total historical problem of migration.

Our choices were made on the basis of knowledge accumulated over long years in a variety of ways (history, ethnology, linguistics, economics, psychology, sociology and anthropology), as well as decades of cumulative real-life experience.

That is exactly why the Group resolutely opted for interculturalism. We find that it can rely on a rationale which is at least as scientifically sound as the opposing alternatives and furthermore permits real educational and cultural action. Emphasis on the inter in «intercultural», representing all forms of correspondence, coherence, exchange, inter-relation etc, makes for energy, willingness to change, and impetus.

Project Group No. 7 does not conceive intercultural education as a scientific reality, a proven fact like the law of gravity or an established body of conceptual knowledge. It has always been represented as an option, that is an avenue to follow, a horizon to seek, a principle of social and educational action, a choice.

Therein would seem to lie the liberality and willpower to avoid giving the desired goal a restrictive definition in terms of what is possible here and now, the effort to achieve constructive change. From this point of view, interculturalism embodies a gamble as much as a reality, provided of course that the components of the situation to be altered are properly taken into account.

A liberal outlook along those lines would probably not have been sufficient reason for choosing that particular course. Our instructions were not to define solely and directly what we found best, good, desirable etc but also, and perhaps primarily, to suggest ways and means of achieving fuller educational and cultural development for migrants. In order to carry out those instructions, it was vital to conduct a technical analysis, to identify the actual situation and to record, grade and inter-relate all its components. In this instance, the point is not what is desirable but what exists, not the future but the present, not an option but a certitude.

The material for this inventory was not lacking, although many areas remained unexplored, many questions unanswered and occasionally problems which had yet to be identified or even glimpsed. The Group had to take stock of all available expertise, practical experience, knowledge and areas of enquiry. This need was the reason for such events as the meetings or colloquies on migrant cultures and Europe by the year 2000. The first task was to circumscribe the field of operation and take our operational bearings - and this has continued up to the present time because by definition it is never finished and has no conclusion.

To believe in the possibility of a once-and-for-all description of the situation would have been the first step towards dogmatism, prefabricated discourse and meaningless jargon. Yet from the very outset our first and common concern was not to immobilise reality or reduce it to a standard form of expression. Agreement on this was immediate, and still applies. In order to help change a situation, it must be identified in terms of its intrinsic mobility, ie its evolution as well as its components.

On that principle, we have constantly striven to progress from the existing towards the desirable, that is to define the possible and, within the possible, the optimum. The conditions of feasibility of any action, whether local, national or international, enter into the analysis of the situation in which such action is to be taken. It would certainly have been easier and more gratifying to speak in general terms like so many others, but unless it appeared operationally necessary we usually refrained from doing so and concentrated instead on more specific investigations and operations with a more objectively discernible effect.

By the same token, interculturally oriented methods also seemed the most suitable; they allow for activities with a research content, while obviating the twofold pitfalls of blind empiricism at one extreme and, at the other, an unduly axiomatic approach. Interculturalism is a forceful idea requiring strict scientific elucidation - a theoretical proposition but one which also reflects an operational choice, a mode of practical action, a means of influencing the material and not just the conceptual order.

Intercultural methodologies already existed, though a number of our members were among the greatest past contributors to their definition, popularisation and subsequent institutionalisation. The Project Group thus makes no claim to originality or invention in this respect, but points out that it takes up the entire intercultural approach and feels it has contributed towards the greater currency and fuller analysis of the option which that approach represents.

Much work has been done to that end. It has not always been easy, particularly by reason of certain arguments against an intercultural approach on the grounds that it would lead to unacceptable social changes. Many conservative elements have placed interculturalism on a par with ideologies to be combated, demands to be countered and agitation to be prevented.

The idea has nevertheless made a gradual impression on practice and attitudes by means of explanations, interchange and publications. Many educators and activity leaders, working either individually or collectively, systematically or empirically, in an organised manner or otherwise, have placed these methodological procedures on a firm footing of everyday reality and feasibility. The widespread informal networks created as a result make interculturalism a practical as much as an intellectual exercise.

So many trials and endeavours in so many varied situations naturally lack uniformity. Interculturalism has taken different forms; it is not of a single colour and lacks the consistent clarity of well-defined, conventional bureaucracies. Because it is a frame of reference, an option, its expression varies according to the field of application and it can be defined as having multiple identity in the versatility of its forms.

This versatility nevertheless achieves unity in the definition of the issue subtending the option of interculturalism, which is to make cultures or forms of knowledge inter-relate, co-operate and work together rather than face to face, or indeed in a state of mutual ignorance or rejection. Interculturalism derives its unity more from its aims than from an established conceptual status (established by whom? on what evidence? with what effects?) and from what it rejects rather than what it advocates. It is defined first of all by what it is not.

As intercultural considerations gained wider acceptance, at least as an investigatory method and a way of tackling and identifying the problems confronting social workers daily, misgivings arose among some of the accustomed producers of knowledge and recommendations in this matter. Interculturalism became a contentious issue, appealing to the customers, arousing interest despite its inexactitude and and commanding attention.

In particular, it is often said that interculturalism is non-existent because it cannot be defined (which is wrong, as we showed in the interim report) and because it leaves no discernible marks on the "field" (also wrong). Thus the circle is complete; those claiming to be scientific refuse to observe (since there is nothing to observe) and claim that anything which cannot be observed does not exist.

All expert knowledge in the human sciences must face the problem, and of course this has inspired some remarkable works for more than a century past; Durheim, Max Weber, Aron, Popper and the Frankfurt school, to mention only a few examples, have left contributions which are known to the entire group and form ground for reflection.

Alertness to change and the ability to record it (and consequently to make forecasts) are central to the social sciences. Some of the major criteria of scientific validity here are the capacity to identify and distinguish lasting and transient factors, devise categories for the analysis of emergent or declining trends, establish cause-and-effect relations and make non-static operative descriptions. The work is never confined to observing what exists, for the decisive epistemological reason that in social matters, what exists cannot really be circumscribed and demarcated with a sufficiently controllable degree of approximation.

Recent objections to the intercultural approach, when they assume the guise of praiseworthy concern for scientific method, cannot disregard the minimum scientific requirements in every field of social science. If, to be examined as a concept, interculturalism must have observable aspects and, conversely, if those aspects can only exist where the concept is defined beforehand, one is confronted with a circular reasoning process which it would be hard to describe as scientific.

A socio-historical concept - for that is the subject of our concern - is always a construct, a built-up object, not a mere label attached to a pre-existent, observed reality. If knowledge in human sciences had to stand the single test of empirical observation, not only would it not exist (even in history) but, furthermore, scientists would find themselves in the classic situation, frequently condemned, of keeping their hands clean by having no hands.

To regard the intercultural as non-existent either as concept or as reality is more of a positivist than a scientific attitude, a view of knowledge as mere objective recording (and where would the objectivity originate?) of ready-made facts. This is no longer current in scientific methodologies as a whole, including the "hard" sciences, as Bachelard was the first to demonstrate fully.

The Group has defined the intercultural approach according to four basic elements (1), and abides by that definition for two reasons:

- each of the elements, and their interaction within an organised whole, seem to us scientifically valid;

- the whole has operative value because it makes real educational and cultural planning possible, as attested by a large amount of experimentation and routine field-work.

We accordingly adopted a dual position. Firstly, we asserted the need for a strict analysis of the situation in anthropological terms (combining economics, linguistics, sociology, psychology, history and political science) for the purpose of building up the knowledge itself as well as for the purposes of action, intervention and alteration. There still seems to be no other possible course.

The second proposition, equally important to the Group, is that action should not be delayed until science is fully constituted - firstly because scientific knowledge is an inherently endless activity which does not manage time in the same way as social action, itself subject to considerations of urgency; and secondly because in some contexts action can begin provided that the general direction is clearly determined according to a minimum of basic information.

The educational and cultural sphere of migration does not seem to leave any other alternative. One has to keep moving ahead, even with only a compass and map as it were, because the situation demands it - the widespread resurgence of xenophobia or racism is sufficient evidence. If we waited until the picture was complete before taking action, these trends would have become virtually irreversible.

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(1) The four elements of interculturalism are defined as follows in the interim report of the CDCC's Project Group No. 7 (doc. CDCC (84) 10 revised) which appear in the Appendix.

a. by now most of our societies are multicultural and will become increasingly so,

b. each culture has its own specific features, to be respected as such,

c. multiculturalism is a potential asset,

d. to make multiculturalism an asset in reality, we must achieve communication and interaction between all the cultures concerned without obliterating the specific identity of any, and we must mobilise the multicultural situation to make it truly intercultural, with all the dynamism which this implies (in terms of communication and interaction especially).

Another feature of our intercultural approach is therefore eagerness to act. Our twofold attitude was basically that although accurate scientific knowledge is a technical requirement for operational work in the field, it is not absolutely necessary for the purposes of making a start. Scientific knowledge is not the sole source of action, although it is the chief regulator.

In this respect the intercultural approach is an operational principle, a source of commitment, a direction and an objective, the outline of a scheme. As such, it must keep clear of the narrowly positivist technocratic outlook (which means refraining from action unless all the right conditions have been created and checked, as is usual in all spheres where knowledge is available and fully controlled, such as technology) as well as avoiding uninformed, simplistic activism (which amounts to indiscriminate ventures on grounds of urgency or didactic ideology).

The Group was particularly attentive during 1985 to the campaign which began in France and later spread throughout Europe, now known for the slogan "Touche pas à mon pote" ("Hands off my pal"). This proved to everyone that concerted, considered and ordered collective action could proceed from a situational analysis not backed by any profession of scientific principles but which demonstrated by moving forward that movement was a reality. As a typical innovation generated within a social unit comprising a set of cultural communities, this neither fortuitous nor haphazard campaign was proof of its own validity.

The emblem of the upraised open hand epitomises the Group's own scheme of interculturalism, namely exchange and amalgamation which does not obliterate but rather accentuates differences, points of solidarity, identities and loyalty to a single active purpose. It is a proclamation of solidarity in full awareness of individualities and common features.

The miniature hand and the brief slogan expressing opposition to racism also reveal a determination not to become imprisoned by traditional divisions and to reject some of the preconceived classifications. Differences should not lead to exclusion, and consensus is impossible if they are disregarded. Both sides of the picture must be kept in view; no fundamental characteristic of cultural identity is to be abandoned, while the possibility of joining together in pursuit of a single, well-defined objective should be firmly established.

"Hands off my pal" symbolises a determined refusal, as its negative clearly indicates. The negation expresses refusal of racism and xenophobia, exclusivity and segregationist practices. The refusal is in itself an affirmation. It says: this is what we do not want, what we no longer accept, what we are fighting. Today as always, this is the basic element of all opposition to racism; to stand in opposition, explaining what is opposed and why.

The force of the affirmation lies precisely in its specification of what is rejected. Even if one is not (yet) able to explain in detail what one wants to do, it is important to leave no doubt as to what one does not want, what one objects to.

This was also how the Group went about showing what it meant by "intercultural", specifying from the outset what it was not, what it opposed and what it objected to. The assertion of interculturalism is first of all a declaration of principle; it indicates a line to be followed, a destination, an objective, obviously in contrast with the present state of affairs. It is an intended direction.

To define interculturalism with all possible conceptual exactitude would inevitably immobilise it, tie it up in red tape and give it an institutional identity robbing it of its essentials - its energy, activism and the will to transcend present circumstances. On the other hand, a statement of what it negates expresses its very essence, a capacity to define prospects for action.

Experience has proved that on such a basis collaboration is possible and joint projects can be undertaken, here and now, even if those concerned do not adopt exactly the same theoretical stance. While remaining loyal to personal opinions and convictions, everyone lucidly resolves to participate because there is at least common agreement as to what is rejected (as well as agreement as to possible divergencies through a clarification of the positions adopted).

In the social sciences there are no laboratory experiments. Nor is the Project Group meant to be a laboratory; its function is simply to place expert knowledge (of differing origins and forms) at the service of concerted action in a given field. To interpret our work as being aimed at pure scientific, or scientifically pure, output would be inconsistent with its spirit and conditions (eg the fact that no member actually works for the Group; the task devolving on the Council of Europe is superimposed on each member's normal professional work and ordinary responsibilities).

Some of the objections lodged against interculturalism are beside the point, whether or not this is intentional. It will be possible to start work once «intercultural» is defined as a concept with all the necessary precautions and structured with all the requisite, methodologically valid, epistemological guarantees. True. But then the problem will no longer arise, the issues will have been dispersed long since by the wind of history; the treatment will have been successful but the patient will have died in the meantime.

That is definitely the crux of the matter. If the aim is to change a situation (otherwise there would be no point in assembling a group of experts in any field whatever, nor would one wish to change the situation if it was considered satisfactory), can we settle for a conceptual analysis of the situation? Is it even methodologically possible to analyse an existing situation without having a plan?

If the answer to the two above questions was yes, no future would ever be built and men must be utterly dependent on things they do not control. It would mean always accepting matters as they are and thus considering that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. All knowledge would be entirely subservient to the present state of affairs, have no more than retrospective value and, like Minerva's owl, awaking only at twilight.

Our task was to elucidate choices, to assist decision-making, to identify a desirable objective. It is through the possible that one moves towards the desirable. The possible is the intersection of a desired state with the present state. Our role was to establish the point of departure and the goal, and to show how best to make the transition.

The pitfall would have been to get stuck either at "point A" (immobilised at the situational survey stage) or "point B" (delighting in ethereal proposals and purely ideological discourse). In either case, the inevitable outcome would have been to confirm existing situations and reinforce an unprogressiveness tantamount to conservatism.

The choice made was neither a wordy detachment from reality nor immobilisation in the present with the comfortable complacency of inaction. In this regard, the intercultural option seemed the best, precisely because it takes into account the bi-polar dimension of desirable and real, ie the path of feasibility and responsibility.

We accordingly tried to create a constant interplay between practical methods and the field of theory, as is demonstrated by the activities we either organised or took part in (see Part II). From the terms of reference it was clear that we must not operate solely in the realm of theory, nor in that of practical achievement. We were also aware that these two components are always inseparable and therefore never separate, a principle laid down by Bachelard, Claude Bernard and Piaget which served as our methodological guide.

The terms of reference given when the Group was set up expressly stipulated that we were to deal with education and culture as a comprehensive social activity (outside the school context) and that in each of the two sectors account should be taken of adults as well as children and adolescents. The obligation to do so was therefore mandatory, and there was obviously no question of regarding it as a dead letter.

That was the reason for choosing in practice to highlight the correspondences, inter-relations, "contact zones", crossroads and intersections of these various sectors. Moreover, boundaries, interfaces and areas of overlap are invariably key points in the field of migration as well as in education and culture, as present-day activities have repeatedly shown (expert co-operation, interdisciplinary exchange and new dual-label sciences such as socio-linguistics and psycho-sociology, like bio-chemistry, psycho-physiology etc in other spheres).

Consequently, the Group scrupulously kept its contribution consistent with certain major principles it regarded as the backbone of its work (and which indeed it shares with many others):

1. Education and culture as social practices are never unrelated to the socio-economic, socio-political and contextual conditions surrounding them. Thus there is no passing over (ie ignoring or neglecting) these aspects of the migration phenomenon, any more than one could in the study of school systems or socio-cultural mechanisms. There was no question of the Group's professing to be economists or experts in political science, since we are neither, but nor was there any question of overlooking this component.

The Group therefore decided not to analyse it as such, not being equipped to do so, but to keep it constantly under review as an important explanatory factor, that is to gauge its implications and consequences for our field of study. While economics and political economy were of no interest except in their relationship with our field, a synoptic study on the subject was commissioned for the sake of thoroughness (1).

2. The fact remains that education and culture as social institutions have what sociologists have long called "relative autonomy" in relation to economic and political agencies. This simply means that not everything in education and culture can be fully accounted for by economic and political factors. Institutions invariably create their own margins of manoeuvre, ie areas specific to them whose operation can be explained autonomously, even if that autonomy can only be relative in that it refers back to more general social components.

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(1) "For better or worse", a study of "Contemporary social, cultural and economic changes in Europe and their significance for cultural and educational policies" by Yngve Georg Lithman (Council for Cultural Co-operation, School Education Division, Strasbourg 1985 - doc. DECS/EGT (85) 13)).

In the dual field with which we are concerned, all technical and methodological aspects (in education, community work and creative activity) have this autonomy. It does not make them independent of economic and political parameters, but means that action of a not strictly economic or political kind is feasible, relevant and potentially effective in practice (whether positively or negatively). In these circumstances, we are not faced with the usual alternative - either totally transform the economic and political system or be unable to change anything; short of total transformation, no change is possible, and conversely a total transformation in economics and politics would automatically create changes in education.

The concept of relative autonomy developed by Pierre Bourdieau, following in the footsteps of Max Weber, was the Group's springboard for a number of actual transformations, with due regard to the limits on their validity within the educational and cultural field. It is our belief that underestimation of the capacity for autonomy (margin for initiative, fluidity, flexibility and innovation) in educational systems and cultural agencies would be as erroneous as its overestimation (a mistake also made, too often blindly, by one school of educational thought which holds that educational science can only change through itself and is sufficient for such change).

3. Educational and cultural innovation always takes place in a climate of scepticism, hostility and inertia. The history of education, whatever the field, abounds in illustrations of this process and offers no example to the contrary. These three dimensions should therefore be taken into account.

a. An innovation always begins as a minority venture. Being localised, limited, partial and incomplete, it incurs the hostility of the majority and is condemned by the dominant forces of the moment, ie those whose advantage lies in the status quo even though they profess a desire for universal change. Furthermore, these dominant elements argue against innovation on the grounds that it concerns only a minority while the majority opposes or disregards it: "Might is Right".

b. Since it is of a minority nature, innovation arouses general scepticism. It is always argued that the innovation will prove pointless, meet with certain failure, lead nowhere, and so on. The supreme justification is that "the results are uncertain". Educational action, whose effects are of course always delayed, is challenged to give decisive and immediate evidence of its effectiveness if it is innovative. So nobody will help to bring about one of the conditions for its success (which is certainly not the only one), namely that belief in success significantly increases the chances of success. Scepticism has the opposite effect.

c. For these two reasons, any innovation in education and culture takes a long time to develop, and above all to pervade and innervate the system in which it plays a minority role. To expect things to be otherwise - to expect an innovation to become immediately current on a large scale - is to disregard the immutable laws of operation, and unfortunately does not do away with them. Widespread innovation is not to be commanded or instantly imposed.

However, innovations of any kind also require a variety of assistance, encouragement, incentive and minimum external conditions, failing which they are stillborn. For this reason, concerted aid to innovation (especially by helping to propagate or popularise it) is valuable and therefore necessary. True innovation must of course come from within, but it cannot do without some initiative and backing from outside, especially in countering the scepticism and hostility mentioned above. The Group took this as the centre-point of its role and optimum potential productivity.

4. The policy lines of an educational and cultural scheme cannot be defined solely in educational and cultural terms. Inevitably, ie whether or not this is desired or realised, they interlock with options of a more general historical and social nature. These imperative inter-relations therefore require explicit consideration, if only because the inevitable is always more fully controlled when its existence and impact are known. The operational effectiveness of an educational and cultural scheme depends on its being clearly situated in its context.

From this standpoint it was immediately obvious to the Group that its work fell within the overall context of opposition to racism and xenophobia. This was of course obvious to each member, but seemed worth reasserting. Furthermore, during the life-cycle of the project itself, a number of symptoms in various quarters clearly indicated that racism and xenophobia were not dead and were even renaissant in some instances.

In the course of the activities, special care was therefore taken to define the Group's options in the matter. Vigilance against racism was a major theme at the Colloquy on Europe in the Year 2000, for instance (1). The point was not so much to take an original stance as to join in a wider movement, in the major common causes against exclusion and segregation which are emerging in every society.

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(1) "Migrant culture in a changing society - Multicultural Europe by the Year 2000", general report by Ms Micheline Rey, Council for Cultural Co-operation, School Education Division, Strasbourg 1983 (doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10).

As a result, the Group found that it had common cause with all action aiming to break down social barriers, whether on the part of institutions, associations, individuals or national or local agencies. While concentrating on education and culture as the dual field assigned to it, the Group never lost sight of the fact that other types of options were implicit in its work. We therefore wished to proceed in a more generally social direction both within and beyond our own field.

Similarly, it was considered vital to stress that migration enriches the social fabric; nor were we the first to say so in the educational and cultural field. The multicultural nature of the societies in which we live heightens their fertility, richness and potential, and this also applies to education and culture. The goal of interculturalism is precisely to establish the channels of communication, exchange and inter-relation among the many different cultural groups.

This admittedly raises a number of problems of various kinds. It must be said - being the simple truth - that this is typical of any social community and by no means specific to migratory integration, which is in any case a historical constant albeit taking various forms. Any kind of societal existence continually generates problems; they are part and parcel of social reality and may even be regarded as providing a good definition of it. In any event, there is no social reality without problems.

It follows that the approach to the problems defines the nature of life in social communities. To disregard, evade, circumvent or deny problems is to build a dead society that is bolted and barred, unbearable to live in. To claim that no problems exist or could ever arise, that there could be a social reality without problems continually cropping up, ie without constant, endless adjustments, is mere abstraction unrelated to any real situation.

The thing to do, then, is not to regard problems as abnormal (disgraceful, surprising, unacceptable) but to analyse, identify and deal with them - by definition an endless task, never finished once and for all as both conservatives and technocrats would like to imagine. Nor does this mean that nothing evolves and that any action would therefore be pointless. Problems constantly arise and their solution generates further problems, as does the absence of solutions. In fact the new problems differ according to whether the previous problems were solved or otherwise.

The Group tried always to bear this commonplace sociological phenomenon in mind: there can be no question of devising permanent solutions as if the problems did not change, or of idly refraining from action as if one option were as good as any other or as if nothing had any consequence or meaning.

The intercultural approach, a dynamic one (because it stands for inter-relation, interpenetration, co-operation etc), suits the above scheme of cogent action and thought. Our guiding principle was basically that possibility implies necessity, and that things are not all of equal value.

Because by definition problems constantly arise, a single approach can never claim to encompass all contingencies and cover all that ought to be covered. That is why the Group has never represented interculturalism as the solution to all difficulties, one which would relegate all other approaches to the dustbin. It has its own limitations, questionable points, shortcomings and even inconsistencies. It does not wind up the debate or expound a gospel to borrow a vivid expression from our colleague John Trim.

The Group nevertheless regards interculturalism as a path along which to progress and deal with a number of problems. It is for all the interested parties to blaze other trails, establish other courses of action and help to tackle other problems. In educational and cultural matters, as we have repeatedly asserted, the intercultural approach is aimed at and intended for all people, whether nationals or foreigners, and by definition is radically opposed to segregation.

Educational theory, cultural activity and creative work alike are in no position to be completely unselective. Even though the choices they make may not be obvious as such to the social agencies involved, they are choices notwithstanding. Our unremitting concern was to make our own choices explicit in the knowledge that they cannot be evaded and must therefore be stated as a matter of strict method.

This is what enables others to grasp the relevance of the choice made, ie to appreciate its reasons, postulates its validity limits - the minimum methodological basis for real discussion ie freedom from dogmatism. Let us simply recall at this juncture our basic methodological rule, taken from the works of Bachelard and summed up by his famous remark that knowledge is born of discussion, not of fellow-feeling.

Such being the case, care was taken to make thorough, contrastive comments on any value-judgements called for, always with the same wariness of falling into the trap of Manichaeism and simplistic bipolarisation. Some choices are obviously clear-cut, as we have seen, but in this field they are invariably complex; to simplify them at the outset would be debasingly reductionist. All phenomena in our sphere, then have many different aspects which are far from simply black and white. To begin and end by distinguishing between right and wrong is facile, false and confusing.

In this connection, special importance was attached to the key sociological concept of a "perverse effect", ie all the positive or negative repercussions (in relation to the objective) liable to result from a given choice. A liberal or even-handed choice can have adverse effects in practice, for the very reason that numerous parameters are bound to collide. But these negative repercussions need not cancel out the positive side of the phenomenon. A line of action is not necessarily to be rejected because of its disadvantages or dangers; in fact it may be that its advantages outweigh the disadvantages or that the other possible lines of action are even more hazardous.

In the educational and cultural sphere it is well-established, on the basis of quite specific examples, how easily perverse effects can occur, especially as a result of ad hoc initiatives whose possible effects have not been properly examined beforehand. Good intentions in such matters are no guarantee that the analyses will be effective or even correct. A truly positive contribution must ascertain the negative as well as the positive effects, and take them all into consideration. This is the only way to avoid simplistic dualism with an absolute dichotomy between right and wrong. For the time being, rationalism of this kind is still far from common in our sector.

A number of practical problems nevertheless arise, the solution of which requires this multidimensional approach, that is to say the problems must be examined not just from one angle but from several because they are themselves multidimensional. One of many examples that might be quoted is the teaching of languages and cultures of origin, which for several years has been a major topic of debate.

It may be surprising to realise that many people, not all of them specialists, seem to have ready-made answers to this question, more or less rejecting discussion and asking for an either-or reply as to whether it is good or bad, whether it absolutely must be carried out or should just as absolutely be suppressed or condemned. It is an attitude of all or nothing, everywhere or nowhere, always or never, as if anything not forbidden became mandatory and anything not mandatory forbidden. There are only two sides, with a quite rigid dividing line.

In fact, a genuine operative analysis of the problem would require other procedures in terms of strict method and substantiation. Here are a few examples, intended to be indicative and not exhaustive:

a. the point is not to say whether it is good or bad but to establish the conditions required for such a move to be positive. What conditions absolutely must be fulfilled for the action to be of value? Similarly, what is needed to obviate perverse effects? The conditions are of course simultaneously economic, social, educational, cultural etc. Prior to launching an operation it is therefore imperative to ascertain the conditions of its success, which naturally requires foreknowledge of them. Otherwise, even assuming the intentions are liberal, the venture will fail and thus inevitably rebound on its beneficiaries;

b. the feasibility conditions for an operation consequently form part of its definition. This entails two, and only two, possible procedures:

- either to envisage an operation in accordance with the present conditions of feasibility;

- or to define an operation as imperative and then look for the conditions of feasibility. Here the desirable is made feasible, whereas in the former case we proceed from the feasible in order to determine the desirable. Everyone is of course free to choose his position.

However, many other approaches are impossible - those in which it is assumed (or ignored) that attainment of the desirable state always depends on what is feasible (and not on words alone); those which, on the other hand, amount to saying that the desirable can only be defined in terms of what is immediately compatible with the current situation; and, finally, those with the loudly proclaimed objective of discrimination between right and wrong, as if they were the repositories of these qualities (on whose authority?);

c. the highly varied nature of the situations, contexts, goals, etc is an important feature of the field under consideration (although there are also many similarities and identical features). This means that a single solution, the same in all cases and at any point in time, is neither possible nor desirable. The objective may of course be the same, but the ways of achieving it genuinely vary according to circumstances. Consequently, it is vital to identify the principal lines of action, but ineffective (or worse) to attempt to establish specific procedures because by definition these are purely contextual.

This analysis, we think, applies to the teaching of languages and cultures of origin as it does to many of the other sectors dealt with. In a given context (described operatively, ie comprehensively and organically), this teaching will be of benefit if it complies with certain conditions (legal, administrative, economic, methodological etc). The Group has always defined its epistemological stance according to this method, regarded as the only functional one in that a necessary transformation can be sought while avoiding confusion between facts and words.

This is how we make the connection between theory and practice; interculturalism lies somewhere at their boundaries, which is why it never prescribes any specific activity, but firmly points to a goal without stipulating the approach to it, precisely because practical action and rigorous analysis are only possible where this general principle encounters specific contexts (which by definition are known only to those involved). For that reason, the intercultural approach was never assimilated with, or indeed regarded as entirely distinct from, the teaching of languages and cultures of origin. On the contrary, we never allowed ourselves to fall into the trap of taking or demanding decisions in absolute terms as to what was invariably and universally good or bad. This was found to be the only constructive strategy.

5. By their very diversity, educational and cultural systems each have their own functional characteristics originating in their history, environment and general context, which they help to create. These characteristics inevitably give rise to a number of inflexibilities, ie difficulties of adaptation or change. Thus there is a clear need to identify the causes of such behaviour and establish favourable conditions for internal change.

In this regard, intercultural teaching meets the same obstacles as any other kind. Its objectives (and purposes) are admittedly novel, but it does not elude (or even claim to do so in our view) the basic conditions and the obligatory channels of educational or cultural undertakings of a primarily institutional nature, and consequently cannot be isolated from the global situation in which it seeks to operate.

As a result, it encounters the main aspects of training problems (teaching, leadership, creation, production) in contemporary societies. The major debates of our time concerning the functions of educational and cultural systems are thus substantially reflected in our specific intercultural arguments. To overlook the fact would mean complacent isolation in an unreal dimension, as if intercultural education of any sort could be defined solely in technical terms.

The social regulation of educational and cultural systems in democratic societies represents both the foundation and the goal of our work. Lumping together and confusion are to be avoided, as are reduction and simplification. There may be a constant temptation to take easy ways out, because they tend to indulge in words without action. Our duty is at least to appeal to collective vigilance. By that, we aim to contribute towards the defence of human rights as agreed by all the member States of the Council of Europe; each remains true to its own values while respecting those of others. We all therefore admit that here there are a number of common values which are at the root of our joint actions.

PART II

Migration and society in Europe: Recent changes and their educational and cultural implications

by

Antonio PEROTTI

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I. AIM OF THE REPORT

On 1 February 1984 Professor Louis Porcher, Chairman of Project Group No. 7, submitted to the CDCC the interim report intended as a summary in programme terms of the considerable amount of work (case studies, visits, studies, colloquies) carried out during the project's first three years (1).

The aim of this second report, which has been drawn up more than a year later, during the project's last year, is to "highlight the main (essential) results of the operations carried out, in order to make possible an initial evaluation of the project itself" (commissioning letter of 10 July 1984).

Although the two reports are closely linked, the second differs by reason of its didactic character in that it submits the conclusions to be drawn from the project as a whole.

Because the operations concerned are so multiple, I have grouped the main results at several different levels:

a. the level of establishing the actual facts and underlying trends which have transformed the social and cultural environment in several European countries, challenging and calling into question existing education systems and highlighting the new cultural power of the social movements that have emerged from immigration. Such facts and trends were pinpointed in particular during the colloquy on "Migrant culture in a changing society" and in the description of the context of the various case studies (2);

b. the level of throwing light on key concepts essential to a theoretical and practical approach to new situations, such as "culture(s)", "culture(s) of origin", "migrant culture(s)", "multicultural education", "identity", "identification", "ethnic identity", "ethnic minority", "cultural distance", "negotiability of values", "integration and social cohesion" - such clarification having been achieved above all during the meeting of experts in Strasbourg on the theme of "Culture of origin and migrant culture" (3)

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(1) Cf. Interim Report of the Project Group on «The education and cultural development of migrants» to the CDCC by Professor Louis Porcher (doc. CDCC (84) 10).

(2) Cf. doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.
see also doc. DECS/EGT (85) 13, op. cit.

(3) See report of the Colloquy on «Migrant culture and culture of origin», by Mateo ALALUF, Council for Cultural Co-operation, School Education Division, Strasbourg 1982 (doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4).

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c. the level of the prerequisites for the success of any educational or cultural project relating to the communities of immigrant origin;

d. identification of the ideal places and principal agents which should be invested and brought into contact for implementing an educational project aimed at immigrants and their children.

II. THE MAIN RESULTS AT THE LEVEL OF ESTABLISHING THE ACTUAL FACTS AND UNDERLYING TRENDS

Like any other project, an educational and cultural project can only be based on real facts, which constitute its starting point. This is vital.

Accordingly, a knowledge of the project's main subject, immigrants, was indispensable. And in regard to this subject the project disclosed, at the level of findings, a complex situation which called in question both the current terminology and the concepts underlying it.

Over the last 10-15 years, the economic, social, cultural and political profile of immigration in Europe has changed radically. Not a single country has been left unaffected - not even the traditional emigration countries, such as Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal (4). These changes make it imperative to reappraise the economic, social, cultural and political significance of immigration in society.

This is an essential point for analysing the reasons and justification of the intercultural option. Features of the historical context include two sets of changes, one relating to the immigrant population, and the other affecting the whole of society.

There are four changes or underlying trends in particular, and they are confirmed by a number of signs, some of which have appeared only recently:

A. Migration context

1. The shift from "worker" immigration (from a class of workers in transit) to a resident population. The trend towards the stabilisation and spread of immigrants throughout the social body emerges very clearly from any analysis of the demographic and social patterns of immigrant population or population of immigrant origins in most European countries.

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(4) See DECS/EGT (85) 13, op cit.

The signs of stabilisation are:

a. notable development of families (in particular following on family reunion);

b. the rise in the number of births in foreign or mixed marriages;

c. the increasing proportion of women in the population, and more particularly the increasing number of foreign women in the labour market (a trend which, like the increase in the number of women out of work, affects all nationalities); this development is to be linked not only with the insertion of foreigners into the tertiary sector and with the speeding up of family reunion but also with the changing ambitions of the new generations;

d. the increase in foreign nuptiality following on family reunion within the society of residence;

e. mixed marriages;

f. the percentage of foreign pupils in the school population;

g. the number of young foreigners under 20 as a percentage of the whole foreign population and of the same age-group in the local population;

h. the large number of young foreigners of 16-21 (women included) seeking their first job;

i. the increase in the length of stay and the large proportion of immigrants who have acquired a legal status which guarantees stability of stay;

j. the large number of immigrants, who, on various grounds (automatically, by option or by declaration), possess the nationality of the country of residence or dual-nationality status;

k. the large proportion of immigrant labour in the system of production, its gradual shift into small businesses and its major penetration of the tertiary sector;

l. the increasing weight of the non-working population and the unemployed in the immigrant population as a whole. The former factor (clearly reflected in the percentages of the foreign non-working population, which, in some countries, exceed even the rates for the unoccupied indigenous population) is a major, unprecedented consequence of the development of families (reunion + births) and the age structure of the population (reaching retirement age); the latter factor (the increase in immigrant unemployment) is linked to the effects of industrial reorganisation, which have been borne primarily by immigrants;

m. the inefficacy, in relation to the numerical objective, of policies of offering financial incentives to immigrant workers to return to their countries of origin;

n. the reduced mobility of the lawfully settled foreign working population (confirmed by the simultaneous existence of a very high rate of unemployment and a persistent pool of unlawful immigrant labour).

All these facts confirm that the immigrant population in Europe has undergone a change over the last 15 years. It is in fact the social reproduction of immigration which has changed radically, and which in turn transforms the traditional profile of the migrant.

2. The growth of ethnic diversity

Alongside the stabilisation process there has been a radical change in the relative weights of the various nationalities in the wake of recent migration movements from:

- former colonies (close link between immigration and decolonisation in countries such as Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands - and even Italy and Portugal, which until recently were exclusively emigration countries); or
- overseas territories and départements (France);
- south-east Asia (large communities of political refugees);
- countries which have long had special links with particular European countries (such as Turkey and Germany).

3. Increasing concentration of immigrants in urban areas

The foregoing changes have taken place against a background of increasing concentration in urban areas.

Internal growth of the immigrant population (through births and family reunion) has been superimposed on the geographical concentration which was already characteristic of "worker" immigration (close link between establishment of industries and settlement of immigrants) and has thereby become more marked. This trend has been reinforced by the economic crisis, as the presence of a large ethnic community already settled in a given area is a further attractive feature on account of the solidarity it offers, in the way of support and mutual aid (ethnic cohesion). (5)

4. The background of economic crisis and the political climate

All these changes, it should be remembered, take place against the background of crisis (growing scarcity of primary goods available, particularly employment and housing; loss of purchasing power), and this context has a strong influence on relations between various socio-cultural groups (development of nationalistic and xenophobic attitudes, shutting in of immigrant and native communities on themselves).

(5) Cf. doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op cit.

B. The background of radical changes in the economic, social and cultural spheres of contemporary society

It is essential to analyse the changes that have occurred in immigration in the context of the changes that have occurred and are continuing to occur in society as a whole, particularly those concerning communication and information techniques, occupational structures and life, developments in the family and situation of women.

To suppose that the multi-cultural nature of European societies is simply a matter of the pluralism brought about by the presence of populations of immigrant origin would be to reduce it to only one of its dimensions. One would also be succumbing to the illusion that here was a cyclical trend that could be halted or even reversed. This pluralism, however, is unquestionably the lot of our societies today, which are increasingly caught up in a global process, which makes it necessary to recognise the special characteristics of individuals and groups if cultural democracy is to be preserved and promoted. (6)

1. Technological evolution

Besides the multicultural condition of society, brought about by migratory movements, there is the general context of radical changes under way in the employment market, in social and cultural behaviour and in the way in which institutions work, through technological changes, directly bound up with the memorisation of information and processing made possible by micro-processors and computers, the development of telematics, of satellite communication and audio-visual techniques as well as through the inter-mingling of cultural models and knowledge (ideas, perceptions, ideals, hopes, values) arising therefrom.

2. Move towards management

A further feature of the European historical context is the development of management approaches (rather than political approaches) to social problems. This is a consequence of the development of the welfare state, which governs all aspects of social life, a trend sustained by the establishment of vast systems for the transfer of wealth (social security systems).

Besides this move towards management, there is the political conviction that social problems can be mainly solved through governmental action. This approach to social problems has consequences for the definition of areas in which the State can legitimately intervene. If it is considered that problems can be tackled through intervention along management lines, ie intervention by experts, that means that all the areas in which expert knowledge can be applied are open to action on the part of specialists engaged by the State.

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(6) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op cit.
See also doc. DECS/EGT (85) 13, op cit.

3. Structural stranglehold

This trend is coupled with the development of the phenomenon of structural stranglehold.

A structural stranglehold occurs in a situation in which a social entity, for instance a community or neighbourhood, has no effective means of settling its problems. Independent bodies are in command of all the resources that might enable the entity to develop. The entity "undergoes" and it is not its members which decide on their destiny.

4. Growth of professionalism and the phenomenon of "capitulation" at individual level

A prominent feature of present-day society is the emergence of a large number of professions and the accompanying definition of new areas which have to be entrusted to professionals (for instance, psychologists, educationists, welfare assistants ...). The general meaning attached to profession is that of professional corps which have received special training and which hold a monopoly for certain activities.

The growth of "professionalism" is one reflection of the increasingly technical nature of knowledge.

The dangers of this increasingly technical character in the complex areas of social affairs and inter-personal relations are many and plain. One of them, at individual level, is the phenomenon of capitulation. This means that people leave the responsibility for taking important decisions affecting their existence to others, such as professional assistants. (see, for example, the fields of education and health services, where children's academic success becomes the responsibility of the school, while health is the responsibility of doctors or hospitals).

5. Changes in the construction of identity and social integration

The breakdown of social frameworks has considerable consequences for the way in which an identity is constructed. Those frameworks did in fact provide the principal sources of culture.

Even the way in which what goes on in the world is interpreted, and in which people are affected by it - frequently regarded as one of the principal sources of the creation of an identity - is in some way robbed of its validity.

The media and professionals often proclaim "truths" which conflict with what some used to consider the conclusions to be drawn from their experience.

The problem, when all is said and done, stems to a large extent from a disparity between what happens in immediate social relationships, between people sharing the same situation, and what is presented as messages from information media possessing prestige and professionals possessing influence.

6. Fragmentation of the person in his social interaction

Lastly, one of the features of the many changes that have come about is that individuals more and more have highly specialised contacts with each other: rarely do individuals meet as "integral persons". We base our opinion of others on very limited contacts (source of stereotype views).

As individuals, we generally bring into action only a fragment of our person in social inter-action, since we rarely have any reason for putting ourselves forward as a "whole". It appears that this is one of the profound reasons for the malaise prevalent in our time.

C. Incorporation of these changes in a new international framework

Finally, all these changes have to be incorporated into a new international framework (emergence of the reminder of human rights when immigrants' rights are being discussed; emergence of the right to cultural identity; anti-racism and anti-xenophobia campaign; requirements arising out of international cooperation), and in a new geographical framework, that of the Council of Europe and the Europe of the Communities, where the development of regulations (directives, conventions, recommendations of international organs such as the European Convention on Human Rights, the European Social Charter, the Convention on the legal status of migrant workers, the EEC Directive on the schooling of immigrants' children) acts as a reference for third countries.

2. Consequences of the new circumstances on the social, political and cultural setting

The shift in the demographic and economic profile of the immigrant population has caused the social, educational, cultural and political dimensions of this population's presence to emerge more and more clearly.

The majority of the immigrant population extends beyond the economic framework of the business undertaking, and this radically alters their relations with the social forces (trade unions), whose previous experience and pattern of organisation leave them unequipped to cope with the overall problem posed by immigrants outside the workplace; this is an area where the foreign population has yet to acquire its social legitimacy.

2.1 The permanent settlement of this population gives rise to other socio-cultural changes:

a. illegal immigration - a deviant socio-economic phenomenon - reveals the degree of socio-cultural integration of the lawfully settled foreign working population - people who, finding themselves trapped in ill-paid, menial and precarious jobs and which afford no welfare protection, are undergoing radical changes in their aspirations and ambitions;

b. the trend among the young generations and among women to choose different modes of integration, different occupations and different cultural expressions from those of their parents on account of their different social, individual and collective experience and their different ambitions.
The way in which immigrant women of all nationalities are looking for paid employment is indicative of something which goes beyond purely economic demands;

c. the emergence of a cultural dialectic between the various generations making up a single community and between the various communities;

d. the development among so-called first-generation adults of new relations with schools and the rest of the education system in connection with their children's progress through pre-schooling, schooling, vocational training and entry into working life;

e. the call by immigrant associations for the linguistic and cultural identity of immigrant communities to be respected;

f. a qualitative change in the demand for low-cost housing, following on the changes in family patterns;

g. increasing aspirations to take part in associations and management of local affairs;

h. the emergence in some countries of a generation of immigrant origin with a right to citizenship and consequently with a voice in politics, particularly at local, cantonal and regional levels;

i. the tendency for local elected representatives to take into account the potential electorate represented by the growing number of people of foreign origin (the new generations) who will be able to exercise political rights;

j. a change in attitude towards the country of origin and a change in the images projected by the indigenous communities;

k. lastly, the development of several strategies by countries of origin and by the authorities in host countries. The former aim to maintain links with their nationals abroad so as to prevent their total, irrevocable absorption into the host society (maintenance of the linguistic and cultural heritage through teaching of the language and culture of origin; maintenance of links with the nationality of origin, even if another nationality is acquired). The latter aim, on the contrary, to frame a policy of integration - and experience some difficulty in dissociating themselves from certain ideological and political currents in public opinion, whose adherents would like to see a dual policy that would distinguish between immigrants considered integratable and those suspected - on account of their "cultural distance" - of being opposed to any assimilation and thus unsuited to any lasting or permanent settlement, and who should ultimately return to their countries of origin.

Stabilisation has therefore led to a situation in which partial, purely functional integration of immigrant workers into the economic sector has ceased to be adequate. It is a situation in which the immigrant population can no longer be managed by specialised institutions or administrative authorities (Ministries of Labour and for the Interior) but requires access to the whole range of ordinary institutions and all administrative authorities and must clearly be totally integrated into local society.

These are new circumstances which do not affect the immigrant population alone - they affect society as a whole: through its penetration of the social body and its spread within it, immigration has become an integral part of society's present situation and future development.

Thanks to their stability, foreigners are less and less foreign, more and more "resident" and more and more "members of the local community". For this reason, even if the massive migration flows towards Europe do not resume and even if some of the immigrants return to their countries of origin (either because the objectives of personal or family migration have been achieved or because of the pressure of the crisis and "active" policies for return or reintegration as part of international co-operation), the multi-ethnicity of several European societies remains a structural fact. This has lasting consequences for the education systems of those countries.

2.2 The new diversity of ethnic origins in Europe has brought about a mix of people from Africa, Asia and the West Indies, whose conspicuousness (skin colour) has emphasised the ethnic aspect and whose religious differences (rituals and practices) have emphasised the different civilisation (Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam).

This is an important development when one reflects that the ethnic aspect, which is where the greatest number of prejudices and stereotypes in the public imagination are concentrated, is a source of inaccurate perceptions, hostility and conflicts, as far as relations between different socio-cultural groups are concerned. Differences in religion, which are conspicuous in religious practices and rituals, serve only to reinforce this cultural variable as a factor identifying a group (7).

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(7) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10), op cit; M Craft.

2.3 The ethno-colonial change has also brought in its wake other phenomena relating to education, culture and politics:

a. new symbolic values or splits, as much in the process of identification and in integrative behaviour vis-à-vis European societies on the part of immigrants belonging to certain communities as in the images of these communities projected by indigenous populations;

b. the introduction of different legal statuses into immigration with nationals from some former colonies (or overseas departments and territories) being given a preferential status or, on account of their status as "nationals", having the same civic rights as nationals;

c. more active sponsoring of national linguistic and cultural identities by formerly colonised countries of origin, which seem to be reproducing in the state organisation inherited from colonisation the historical course followed by Europe, in the formation of a national consciousness, nationalism and the related symbols;

d. the rise of ideological movements for the protection of Western (Judeo-Christian) civilisation which emphasise the "inassimilability" of certain nationalities.

2.4 Concentration in towns has had three consequences in particular which have greatly affected relationships within groups:

a. the co-existence of very different cultures side by side in a limited area;

b. the development of "enclaves" or ethnic districts providing a special "setting" for the establishment of ethnic identities and of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic relations;

c. the concentration of these groups in a "proletarianised" environment (areas deprived of socio-educational provision) subject to urban segregation.

2.5 The background of economic crisis and tensions on the labour market as a result of industrial reorganisation and dislocation has a profound effect on relations between socio-cultural groups (development of xenophobic and nationalistic attitudes and behaviour, withdrawal of immigrant and indigenous communities into themselves). (8)

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(8) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op cit.

All this bears most heavily on migrants' integration and on the integration policies and strategies implemented by the authorities. Under the pressure of the social and economic consequences of the settlement of migrants and of certain trends in public opinion and, above all, prompted by a political concern for social cohesion, the authorities take measures which tend to impede the process of integration of foreigners (restrictions on family immigration, obstacles in the way of naturalisation, limits on the right of asylum etc) and even to reverse migration flows and reduce the foreign population by a policy of providing incentives to return to the country of origin.

The loss of economic importance is thus likely to lead to a loss of all importance and legitimacy and accordingly to have serious adverse consequences on the image which the public, manipulated by ideological movements, may have of immigration, particularly in a period of economic crisis.

Hence the new problems of vocational retraining, as the system of adult training has proved to be unsuited to the vast majority of immigrant workers, who are also handicapped by insufficiency or total lack of qualifications.

This vocational retraining for adults must be carried out as a matter of urgency, just like vocational training for young people, not only to prevent - in the latter case - instability and the emergence of various forms of social deviance but also to ensure, through socio-occupational integration, that new generations are integrated into society.

The first victims of such a situation are the young people of immigrant origin, whose existence is often seen as a problem - problems of dual culture, rejection, drugs, unemployment, cohabitation between natives and immigrants, conflict between generations.

European societies have to see the significance of the immigrant or foreign-origin population not only at the economic level of production but also elsewhere. Both nationals and immigrants must recognise their common future and the need to live and act together to achieve it.

2.6 From these findings it emerges that the social, cultural and political significance of immigration must be reappraised, bearing in mind what follows.

The emergence of cultural pluralism, which tends to prompt some communities to organise themselves into "ethnic" or "national minorities" or to maintain a plurality of national links (dual nationality) or, again, to express themselves transnationally (particularly the young) calls for more thought to be given to the limiting of choice to either:

- rejecting the phenomenon out of an obsession with unity (of the nation or the state) or for fear of destroying social cohesion; or

- advocating a multicultural, multiethnic society as something enhancing in itself,

a. without bothering to make a political analysis of the institutional framework needed to cope with new situations;

b. without taking account of the change in the economic and social conditions in which such multi-culturalism will have to be built up; and

c. without indicating the main focal points around which an educational and cultural process could help to form a prior consensus among the parties concerned (ethnic and indigenous communities) in order to safeguard social cohesion.(9)

III. ELUCIDATION OF CONCEPTS

The work done by the project has thrown a good deal of light on the fundamental ideas and concepts for interpreting individual and group identity processes and the dynamics of relations between different socio-cultural groups. It has also made it possible to identify the sort of contact necessary for exchanges on the one hand and social cohesion on the other. It has not been a matter of providing new definitions but merely of pointing out the vital factors that should be covered by any definition. The following is a brief reminder of the main examples of such elucidation.

3.1 The terminology which is traditionally used to define all the individuals who have undergone geographical migration (from state to state) or whose origins lie in such migration ("migrants" or "migrant workers") has been overtaken by events and has become ambiguous given the multiplicity of situations and connotations it implies.

An immigrant may be perceived and defined:

By his past

a. as someone "uprooted" from his homeland (landscape, soil), from his community (village) and his "rural society" (all immigrants are "emigrants" before becoming immigrants, and may have experienced uprooting already in the country which they have left), through social relegation, through "economic violence" (lack of means of livelihood) or "political violence" (refugees); a social, economic or political context of departure, in which uprooting may arise, which poses the questions "What are people uprooted from?" and "Where do the ruptures occur?" (scrutiny of the absolute value attached to the concept of "uprooting" (10) a context which has a profound effect on his present and plans for the future, and with which the person who has been "uprooted" maintains a relationship (11).

b. as someone with a given nationality, implying differential politico-administrative treatment and, above all, a different perception by the society of the country of residence (a perception which is associated with several historical, economic, political, cultural factors); the differential treatment and perception of identity strengthen the tendency to identify with one's ethnic group (ethnic cohesion).

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(9) Cf. doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit; M Craft.
(10) Cf. Report «Querying the intercultural approach» by Marcel Leurin (doc. DECS/EGT (85) 34): Altan Gokalp.
(11) Cf. Report on «The Coimbra community awareness project» (Portugal) by Micheline Rey (doc. DECS/EGT (83) 9.

c. as a carrier of linguistic and cultural codes, which govern daily behaviour. Coding may relate to time, space, cooking, the body, the gest, clothes, music, etc, making it possible to discover a number of cultural factors that are "universal" (12).

By his present

a. as a "settler" ("re-settler"), who has long resided in a given country, who shares the problems and interests of the local community (natives and immigrants of other nationalities) to which he belongs; he is a resident with civic communication needs (modes of operation of government departments and public services) and social communication needs (system of predominantly accepted norms and values).

b. as a "worker", a producer with a specific role to play within the national production system (identification by the jobs set aside for him) and within the framework of the international distribution of labour; he is a worker needing pre-training and vocational training in order to secure or improve his job; and he lives on new class loyalties shared with indigenous workers.

c. as a "non-citizen" without any political rights and with a precarious residence status.

d. as a member, sometimes, of a "minority", where his group has certain historical, ethnic, cultural and religious connotations (often negative ones in relation to the society of residence); "immigrant minorities" are to be distinguished from all other minorities on account of their origin, history and present position.

e. as a "deprived person", lacking means of communication, particularly linguistic means, belonging to a disadvantaged social category (lack of schooling and vocational training), liable to social discrimination.

By his future:

a. as a "mutant" or "cultural traveller" caught in a "transit" situation (the individual being forced to change his "cultural spectacles" on account of his new social itinerary (experience of paid work, individual budget, space, the logic of productivity, privatisation of religion etc)) (13).

b. as an "agent of social and cultural change", engaged in a process of reaction to a new setting which is itself influenced by his presence. The "transplanted" immigrant changes in and with settings which themselves change (influence on personal and institutional relations).

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(12) Cf. doc. DECS/EGT (85) 34, op. cit,: Altan Gokalp.

(13) Cf. doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.
Cf. doc. DECS/EGT (85) 13, op. cit.

c. as a "progenitor", a producer of new generations marked by his economic, social and cultural experience - generations to which he transfers his own frustrations, to which he tries to pass on, in a fragmentary way, his language of origin and, in a rigid, authoritarian way, his models of behaviour and values, and onto which he projects his own aspirations.

d. as a "child of immigration" who not only undergoes the socialisation and cultural influence of his family but is increasingly marked by the new socialising and educational influences outside the family (school, district, recreations, media, peer groups etc) and refuses to confine himself to the cultural profile of his parents.

Such children of immigration go through their compulsory schooling for anything from eight to ten years in institutions which are completely ignorant of the linguistic and cultural knowledge they have acquired from their families, which have no contacts with their families and which frequently only play a role, vis-à-vis these families, of compensating for their shortcomings. These institutions, although they have teaching objectives that have developed from elitism to democratisation, have retained organisational structures for selecting and for evaluating academic performance (assessment of knowledge and intelligence tests) which take absolutely no account whatever of the children's socio-economic and socio-cultural background (ethnocentric and class-centred evaluation criteria) and which consequently discriminate against them by condemning them to failure. (14).

3.2 Given the complex reality designated by the term "migrant" or "immigrant" (and I have selected only a few factors which seemed to me vital) it is clear that an interdisciplinary approach must be taken to the educational and cultural aspects of the problems raised by the presence of immigrants. Indeed the term "migrant" will have a different connotation according as it is viewed from a legal, economic, sociological, anthropological, psychological or political point of view, in all of which respects immigrants constitute a very diverse, heterogeneous group, particularly if the term is used to cover the new generations of immigrant origin. (15)

Moreover, from some of the points of view just mentioned, immigrants may lead a way of life that is not peculiar to them but is shared by other strata or groups in the indigenous population.

3.3 Furthermore, given the dynamics of social processes, we cannot continue to accept the usual representation of the immigrant population in terms of "stocks". Such a representation assumes a dichotomous natives/immigrants analysis of society - an erroneous one - which is responsible among other things for a number of prejudices (eg the tolerance threshold).

No educational and cultural policy which takes the presence of immigrants as its starting-point or which is the outcome of their presence can ignore this diversity.

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(14) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.: Sudi BÜLBÜL; Walo HUTMACHER.

(15) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.: X. COUILLAUD.

The analysis and case studies carried out as part of Project No. 7 emphasise the immigrants' experience of what it is to be socio-cultural "mutants" in transit and that these immigrants might accordingly be seen as the pioneers of a civilisation based on a mixing of cultures.

3.4 When speaking of meetings and exchanges between cultures - in the context of international migration - we must bear in mind that it is not socio-cultural systems or abstract cultures which emigrate and meet but individual people whose experience has placed them at the crossroads of social communication:

a. People, mostly nationals of third world or developing countries, who in Europe have to accept the hierarchy of languages and cultures imposed by the international power struggle. (16)

b. People belonging to specific socio-economic groups, usually to disadvantaged sections of the population (leaving aside political refugees) and often belonging to several distinct categories of the dominant ethnic group. Regional areas of origin and national area of origin do not always coincide either from the social point of view or from the linguistic and cultural point of view. (17)

c. People who, here in Europe, meet other sections of populations that are insecure from the socio-economic point of view and often the most disadvantaged within their own societies. This, moreover, takes place in circumstances that are highly unpropitious for contact (poor housing and concentration in unpleasant, low-status jobs). These are real and symbolic circumstances which have a decisive influence on the social behaviour of both sides.

d. People who find it difficult within their own cultural customs to adapt to the conflict between tradition and modernity (a dialectic characteristic of all cultures) because of the geographical dislocation they have gone through (a change which might well be acceptable on one's own national soil is often felt, abroad, to be a surrender to the dominant culture of a country of residence). (18)

e. People who, with a given group, have been in space and time part of a meaningful social organisation, a means of co-existing with nature, time (calendar), space, work, money, the body, sex, other people, the different generations, housing, the seasons, life and death, the world around them and the world beyond, and who have expressed this universe in the daily practices and behaviour of the group (eating and clothing habits, relational modes, organisation of housing, family organisation and the education system,

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(16) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.
(17) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.: W. Hutmacher
(18) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 9, op. cit.

religious practices etc). People with knowledge and skills (story-telling, legends, parlour games, culinary art, weaving, tapestry-making, pottery, wickerwork, copper engraving, embroidery, decorations, music, songs, dancing etc); neither the education and culture system nor the economic system of industrialised societies manage to make use of such knowledge and skills and give them status, except, partly, in the case of eating habits (small businesses and restaurants). (19)

f. People who have lived in their countries of origin in a largely unstructured institutional context which recognises them as whole persons, who now find themselves in an institutional framework, a complex network of highly structured systems, compartmentalised to a high degree into specialised services and functions (social security offices, family allowances offices, hospitals, social welfare centres etc); this institutional framework tends not to acknowledge the individual as a person in his own right in all his dimensions, psychological, social etc and defines him rather by reference to "a number of problems".

g. People who must therefore get to grips with a new communicative context and master it through an unfamiliar frame of reference, a new method of interpretation. People who must reinterpret or even reinvent their behaviour to fit other logical systems consistent with the new context as regards:

- housing:

(housing estates or tower blocks), in contrast to their original environment, where housing was designed horizontally on a level with the surrounding countryside;

- time:

wholly determined, in industrial societies, by the working hours of paid employment, in contrast with the broader, cyclical view of time in a rural setting;

- authority and justice:

in a society of the written word where the settlement of any conflict entails cumbersome administrative and judicial proceedings, in contrast to a society with an oral culture, where disputes are often settled by a member of the community who has acquired wisdom and authority through long experience and where one's given word has decisive weight;

- the way in which the major events of life are experienced (birth, marriage, death):

in an urban, industrialised society, where such events are managed by experts outside the family, in contrast to a traditional rural society, where such events were taken over, for each of its members, by the group as a whole;

- privatisation of religion:

in European societies, in contrast to the home setting, where transmission of the religious heritage is often one of the main tasks of public authorities.

(19) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.: A. Gokalp

h. People who must reinvent their communicative context in an acculturation setting which is basically governed by a relation of dominance that profoundly influences the foreigner's self-perception and self-image. Culturally speaking, in fact, one does not exist in oneself but primarily in the eyes of other people.

i. People with a body which sometimes occupies a central, immediate position in all social relations (skin colour) as a major distinctive sign of someone different, the foreigner. Such body reference frequently provokes irrational, emotional and phantasmatic reactions on which ideologies are based and develops them in so far as it labels people, with all the devaluing connotations which that entails. Such body reference may dominate social relations because of the segregational mechanisms it triggers, notably as regards housing, schooling and recreations.

j. People with a "patronymic" indicating their affiliation to a primary social group with a given language and often exercising very firm social control, - this social group having provided the setting for their first experiences of social communication and for recognising their cultural identity. "Community" people, strongly marked by the group. This patronymic is handed on to the children, whose lives are made very difficult by it at school and in their environment, inasmuch as it is a sign of foreignness and therefore of difference; names are often mispronounced and misspelt and give rise to discriminatory or even racist behaviour.

k. People who often carry out their duty to educate and to transmit values quite independently, without interacting in any way with the local education system or else are caught in the net of specialised social services (welfare workers, educationists), who often treat the children's problems as medical ones instead of attempting to understand them. They are extremely short of means to transmit the linguistic and cultural heritage to their children, they have no clear understanding of their children's academic ambitions but have unbounded confidence in the importance of academic success for their future.

People who cannot follow their children's socialisation and acculturation processes (family, school, media, social relations), processes which are largely responsible for the formation of the children's identity. Depending on their individual or group experience, the children either:

- identify exclusively with their original ethnic group; or
- reject it, and identify with the models of the majority groups in the society in which they were born, have been educated and have grown up; or
- identify with neither but feel themselves to be between the two; or
- are aware of having a plural identity and claim to belong to both. (20)

(20) cf case study - Exhibition on "The children of immigration" by Antonio PEROTTI (doc. DECS/EGT (84) 85)

At all events, immigrants' children refuse to be shut up in a cultural identity defined from the outside which they do not feel and which is not transmitted as a whole body of knowledge and values meshed with their own experience. (21)

3.5 All the factors referred to above confirm the historical authenticity of "culture" and its underlying dynamic reality.

They provide insights into the cultures of the countries of origin, the indigenous cultures, and the cultures of the immigrant populations or their descendants (first generation and successive generations). They provide insights also into the moulding of their identity and the process of identification.

These insights may be summarised as follows:

a. In order to avoid the pitfalls of a process that might result in reactionary, inward-looking nationalism and folkloric characterisations, it is necessary to restore to cultural identity its "practical importance", which is bound up with the general problem of identity in industrialised societies. (22)

A general problem of identity faced equally, at the outset, by both immigrants and indigenous people.

A general problem of identity which is of priority to all (individuals and institutions in both the countries of origin and the countries of residence), particularly in view of the way identities will develop in the context of the profound changes in social relationships and the modes of functioning of institutions that will be introduced by technological developments, the development of data processing and information technology («telematics»), satellite communications and the resulting mix of cultural models and know-how (ideas, perceptions, ideals, hopes and values).

By focusing on this general problem, one avoids dealing with the «cultural identity» of «others», thus evading questions about the «identity crisis» currently afflicting our societies (23). It also avoids confining interculturalism to circles involved with immigration and its problems, thus failing to investigate themselves as closely as others on the behaviour patterns of majority groups as attentively as those of minority groups (24).

b. In keeping with this general scheme of thought, any attempt to deal with "cultures" and "social and cultural identities" should avoid the risk of a dichotomous conception of the resident population (indigenous people/immigrants), and take account first and foremost of the factors that unite individuals: their biological and mental profile (age, interests, experience ...); the social and economic reality of their time (contemporaneousness which unites them in the present-day context through the media); the dominant, institutionalised

(21) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.: A. Gokalp
(22) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.: A. Gokalp
(23) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.
(24) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (85) 34, op. cit.

language and culture, which are the same for all, all this with a view subsequently to understanding what characterises an individual, what determines his connection with a group: family history, languages, religion, ethnic and national background, educational practices, handicraft traditions, etc. (25)

c. From the anthropological point of view, one can speak of cultures only in a historical sense: culture is the result of the creative attitude of individuals towards reality. (26)

Any attempt to deal with a specific culture must take into account the fundamental variables of time and space. When one speaks of the culture of origin, one must relate it to its temporal context (yesterday, today, tomorrow) and its spatial context (there, here, elsewhere).

Cultural identity is built up on the basis of the place occupied in space and the individual, family or community history. (27)

d. Tradition must not be regarded as the opposite of modernity. Indeed, tradition is above all a reconstruction, and so it forms part of modern trends. Its function is to reinterpret - on the basis of the data provided by experience - knowledge, behavioural models, self-images and community identity as products of a process of transmission from generation to generation. It selects what is to be used and what is to be rejected, in a learning process. A tradition which does not tie up with reality can hardly overcome the barrier of folkloric characterisation. (28)

e. We must avoid an evolutionary approach to other cultures based on the idea that culture develops, in accordance with an intrinsic, mechanical law, from the most primitive to the most advanced forms (equating, naturally, the primitive forms with the cultures of origin of immigrants and the advanced form with the culture(s) of the indigenous populations) of which our western societies are supposed to be the prototype. (29)

f. The formation, stability and/or modification of identity or ethnic identification, like any social process, must be conceived as the result of actions by specific individuals, the result of a decision on their part to adopt a particular approach.

This decision depends on two factors:

- the aims, expectations and motivations of the individual (personal factors);

- the conditions (perceived and/or experienced) of the individual's environment (situational factors). (30)

(25) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit., doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.
(26) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.,: X. Couillard
(27) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.,: M. Alaluf, A. Gokalp
(28) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.,: A Gokalp
(29) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.,: Th. Mangot
(30) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.: H. Essen

g. The individual's experiences in respect of socialisation are one of the most important «personal» factors. In this connection, the «social environment» («social structure») is important on two counts:

- as a factor determining the usefulness of a certain approach (situational factor);
- as a framework within which the personal characteristics (aims, expectations, motivations) have developed or are developing.

In the case of the children of immigration, the social environment of the country of residence constitutes both the situational factor and the framework within which their personal characteristics are developed, but for first generation immigrants it represents only a situational factor, as their personal characteristics have already been developed in the social environment of the country of origin. (31)

A change of identity or identification can only take place if the ethnic/foreign components of the situation (in terms of human relations and institutions) are perceived as favourable to the solution of problems and favourable to the fulfilment of objectives and if there is no overriding orientation or obligation opposed to such change (which would make the cost of change too high).

In any event, ethnic identification is a rational reaction to certain conditions encountered in the social environment. Among the «situational» (contextual) factors influencing the «decision» to choose a certain identity and/or identification, mention may be made of the following:

- the macro-political context, ie the general policy of the country of residence in respect of migration;
- the ethnic homogeneity of the environment;
- social control in the «primary environment» of the family. (32)

h. The concept of identity - as it emerges from the phenomena cited above - has several levels of significance, three of which are most important:

- psychological significance, used above all to explain the identity of the children of first generation immigrants;
- sociological significance, a term used above all in the analysis of «cultures of origin» and «immigrant cultures»;
- political significance, covering in particular the whole range of factors used as ideological weapons, which make an ethnic minority - or part of that minority - a unified group (a term practically synonymous with «ethnic» in American terminology). (33)

Although the term «identity», in the political sense, is applied to certain immigrant groups in Europe (especially immigrants from the former colonies), there is not necessarily any correlation between the second and third meanings of this term.

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(31) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.: H. Essen
(32) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.: H. Essen
(33) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.: A. Köbben

It is therefore wrong to confuse «immigrant communities» with «ethnic minorities» who have political claims to make concerning their own identity.

We must also avoid confusing the psychological significance with the sociological significance, for instance, by equating the identity crisis experienced by the youngsters of immigrant origin with the conflicts arising from dual cultural standards, thus passing over the importance of other factors which might threaten or destroy the image that the adolescent has of him or herself.

i. There is a relationship between, on the one hand, the dominant policies and ideologies (policy of "return to the homeland", of "assimilation" and of "integration") and, on the other, the role models of immigrants: political aims or the dominant ideology are among the factors which cause immigrants (like any other minority) to take up a position in relation to the host society ("in opposition to" or "within"). The political will of the majority is important for the development of conditions for contact between the indigenous population and the immigrant population, conditions which play a major role in guiding immigrants towards integration and in the success or failure of their participation in social and cultural life. (34)

j. If we take the concept of integration to cover all aspects of life, the reciprocity of exchange, (there are transformations on both sides, unlike the one-way process involved in "assimilation") and relations between immigrants and the host society, then integration presupposes participation in social life on an equal footing. It is in this sense that the term "integration" is used in this report. (35)

k. Anthropologically speaking, the choice between «total assimilation» and full maintenance of the «culture of origin» is a false dilemma.

If one analyses the culture of an individual on the basis of its component elements (the cognitive element: language, knowledge, beliefs; the normative element: values, standards; the emotional element; behaviour; customs, lifestyles, types of behaviour; the structural elements, such as membership of primary groups or associations; or the legal, political and occupational elements), one finds that:

- an individual may belong to several cultures;

- an immigrant may achieve total success in his new social environment, while retaining all or part of the standards and feelings of his place of origin. (36)

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(34) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.
(35) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (84) 34, op. cit. «Action to combat intolerance and xenophobia» by Antonio Perotti (Council for Cultural Co-operation, School Education Division, Strasbourg 1985)
(36) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4, op. cit.: A Köbben

1. Cultural fragmentation

The above remarks are given added weight by the fact that the cultural identity of an individual must not be conceived as a reference «system», but rather as a set of «relics» or «signs» detached from the overall context.

Cultural identity is defined by significant details which, although they do not systematically regulate social life, punctuate that life and provide decisive points of reference (37).

m. An individual is never apprehended in the round: he is perceived through now one, now another of his features, which provide him with a representation for another individual, represented himself by one of his features.

No individual can be identified with the group to which he belongs. Reducing people down to their group (chain of features, for instance Moroccans) is unacceptable. Even persons who were born and grew up in that setting can very well leave the chain and become a part of another.

Social institutions (family, group, State) must not confine themselves as chains of features, to addressing the individual as though he were seated on a school bench. An individual only sets himself to work if he has a talking partner who accepts him, accords him a place, acknowledges him; even before being considered in terms of features. This acknowledgement is expressed through the word uttered, a word given, a right to speak. This holds good for any individual, regardless of his ethnic group. (38)

IV. PRECONDITIONS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AN EDUCATIONAL PROJECT IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Following on from the above conceptual analysis and elucidation of concrete situations, can one find in all the operations of the project any pointers for the construction of an educational and cultural project taking account of the cultural pluralism introduced into our societies by immigration?

Of course, what emerges in a striking manner is the fact - which is very well brought out by Professor PORCHER's report - that migration is a «complete social phenomenon» (39).

There is therefore no question of devising a specific educational and cultural project for immigrants, side by side with the general educational and cultural project.

Nor is there any question of making the project focus on school life, although schools, as will be emphasised, have a strategic role to play in the educational community (40).

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(37) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.: A de WASSEIGE
(38) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (85) 34, Virginio BAIO
(39) Cf doc. CDCC (84) 10, op. cit.
(40) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.: L. van der GAAG; P. COTSAPAS

Lastly, there is no question of focusing on the linguistic aspect of culture which, though important, must be treated as only one of the factors in "social communication".

Such social communication presupposes the establishment of relations between all the parties concerned and the linking up of the various spheres in which socialisation and the identification of individuals and groups take place.

This establishment of relationships also constitutes the dominant strategy selected by Project No. 7 for the practical implementation of the intercultural option.

Indeed, it is through the interaction and, hence, the confrontation of the various parties in common spheres of action (school, district, recreation, media, work ...) where social and cultural analogies or differences are expressed, that they can be understood.

This establishment of relationships brings into play the only strategy that can lead first to knowledge, and subsequently to recognition of the specific needs of all concerned, to an adequate awareness of their situation, to the necessary negotiation and, as a result, to social cohesion.

From an analysis of the case studies, it appears that the specific needs of immigrant populations can be satisfied only if and to the extent that this strategy of promoting contact and interaction can be fully implemented.

Full implementation depends on several prerequisites:

1. a general political willingness to consider immigrant (minority) groups as an integral part of the host society: a political will which must be expressed in the choice of priorities and the financial resources needed for the process of integration (see the treatment of this concept above) of these groups. If this will is lacking, the conditions for the establishment of contact between different socio-cultural groups (power relations, discriminatory situations) will be such that the inequality of the relationship will doom it to failure.

2. Contacts must be improved not only in material terms but also in terms of the formal conditions governing the perception of "others".

   As is made clear by the work of the project, individual and collective conduct and behaviour are profoundly influenced (anthropologists even speak of «control mechanisms» by two levels of determinism: socio-economic determinism on the one hand, and symbolic determinism (images, symbols), on the other (41).

   The socio-cultural identity of a group is constantly renewed. This renewal does not take place of itself: it forms part of a process of mutual exchange and cannot be dissociated from the conceptions (mythical, ideological, etc) which interconnect the reactions of each group.

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(41) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (84) 34, op. cit.
doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.: A. Karagiorges

No multicultural society (and all European societies are forced to acknowledge their de facto multicultural character) can hope to give effect to the spirit and the letter of pluralism (transition from cultural phenomenon to intercultural exchange) without simultaneously carrying out an active policy in two fields: the socio-economic field and the educational field. (42)

The interaction between these two fields of action is such that it would be futile to expect any loss of ground in the one to be lastingly offset by progress in the other.

The school and the media - and education and information in general - are two important sources of the symbolic ideas which play an important role in the determination of our perceptions of others (whether individuals or groups) and of our behaviour towards others. (43)

The construction of an intercultural society therefore presupposes the renewal of the educational and school structures.

3. The institutional will to redefine the role and function of the school

Renewal of the school must be perceived in terms of its internal functioning and its external relations (school/family/community). It is necessary, first of all, to review its role. Unless this is done, no change in the relations between school and district, school and family, will be possible; unless this is done, the adoption of intercultural education becomes impossible. (44)

Among the major internal reforms needed is the challenging of the socio-ethnocentric criteria for the evaluation of academic performance, criteria which constitute the fundamental selection mechanism by means of which the school guarantees and defends the existing social hierarchy. (45)

The school must become aware that it constitutes an important sphere of "social communication" for children and that through children it can also become so for parents (particularly for mothers).

A school which, through its links with the community, seeks the co-operation of parents (the school/community relationship can be an intermediate means of developing the school/family relationship), furthers the permanent education of the parents themselves, and helps to reduce inequalities of academic opportunity. (46)

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(42) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.: M. Craft
(43) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (84) 34, op. cit.
(44) Cf Case study on school-neighbourhood co-operation in Marseille: Frais-Vallon (France) by Micheline Rey (doc. DECS/EGT (82) 9)
(45) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (83) 10, op. cit.: S. Bülbül
(46) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 9, op. cit.

A reform of the school along these lines would make it the hub of a permanent training project for the entire community. Such a project would cater for an increasing number of parties both within and outside the school, with the aim of eliminating all the splits that exist in the vertical structure (between the different levels of education) and in the horizontal structure (between the various components - buildings and resources - of the educational community). Nor should we forget the more direct involvement in the educational project of research in education and social sciences, which would contribute to the thinking of teachers, social and cultural agents, heads of associations, trade union officials, administrators and locally elected officials. (47)

4. In this context, active (interventionist) educational and cultural policies are needed at the local level for the purpose of:

   - extending social and educational activities to all school and out-of-school fields;

   - breaking down the divisions between school groups;

   - taking into account the maximum possible number of factors involved in the process of socialisation and education and "re-thinking" the role of the educational and cultural resources of the country (libraries, museums, music workshops, game libraries, youth hostels, social and cultural centres, various workshops, theatres, local radio stations);

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(47) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (82) 9, op. cit.

- establishing structures and levels of co-operation and participation for the "social management" of the school, family and district). (48)

5. If this overall educational and cultural policy is to be implemented on behalf of an entire local community, several conditions must first be met:

- high-level institutional willingness to participate;
- co-operation between authorities representing the various bodies concerned;
- the establishment of chains of command at all levels and in all the sectors concerned, so as to give effect to the will expressed and ensure the implementation of the project;
- provision of adequate human and financial resources;
- co-operation and participation of all those who work in the field;
- community participation, which implies that the project should really meet the needs of the community. (49)

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(48) cf. - DECS/EGT (82) 9, op. cit.

- Case study on "The Mobile Centre for the Information and Guidance of Turkish families in Duisburg" (Federal Republic of Germany), by J.M.F.G. Teunissen, (doc. DECS/EGT (82) 2);
- Case study on "Contacts between pre-school, compulsory school and migrant families in Södertälje",(Sweden) by Manfred Hohmann, (doc. DECS/EGT (82) 5) ;
- Report on "The Coventry Community Education Project" (United Kingdom) by Micheline Rey, (doc. DECS/EGT (82) 20) ;
- Case study on "The Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam" (Netherlands) by Antoine Gailly, (doc. DECS/EGT (81) 104) ;
- Case study on "Portuguese culture in Cassis" (France), by Ezio Compagnoni, (doc. DECS/EGT (83) 2) ;
- Case study on "Skövde Municipality and its ethnic minorities" (Sweden), by Philip Hermans, (doc. DECS/EGT (83) 4) ;
- Case study on "Teaching materials for Spanish language and culture classes for migrant children in France" (Lyon-Paris, France) - Part II - by Louise Dabène, (doc. DECS/EGT (83) 7
- Report of the seminar-workshop on "intercultural education as an educational model for social situations involving cultural minorities" by Louise Dabène, (doc. DECS.EGT (83) 38).

(49) cf - doc. DECS/EGT (82) 9, op. cit.
- Case study of "Swiss migrant joint associations" (Switzerland) by Arlette OLMOS, (doc. DECS/EGT (83) 5);
- doc. DECS/EGT (83) 38, op. cit.

6. The importance of "values" and of participation by the interested parties

Only a project which calls for the active participation of all the interested parties can achieve the democratic construction of an intercultural society, which presupposes the education of the community in autonomy and solidarity.

Several case studies point to the importance of the existence of a platform of cultural and political values (equality, freedom, right to information and participation) for any organised effort to revive institutions and the social fabric: values which legitimise and give significance to the action undertaken and which can lead eventually to:

1: reforms of public institutions, such as the school;

2: the emancipation of immigrants, through participation and the joint study of problems;

3: an improved understanding, on the part of the individual, of his own culture and that of the country in which he lives. (50)

The problem of participation is crucial to any educational project. Structures are needed that are capable of stimulating and constantly producing information that enables people to feel concerned.

Such information must be closer to families and lead to the development of new working methods:

- on a decentralised basis
- in the long term
- involving the provision of oral information
- aimed particularly at women
- not dissociated from local events and social phenomena. (51)

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(50) Cf - Case study on «The Italian Centre for social action - CASI-UO» (Belgium), by Maria Emilia Ricardo Marques (doc. DECS/EGT (82) 3)
- doc. DECS/EGT (82) 4 op. cit.: Ducoli
- Case study on «The relations between the Italian parents' associations and schools - Zurich» (Switzerland) by Ezio Compagnoni, doc. DECS/EGT (82) 8

(51) Cf - Doc. DECS/EGT (82) 2, op. cit.

7. Co-operation between country of origin and host country (52)

It is impossible not to say anything, when it comes to pre-conditions to be agreed, about the co-operation that is necessary - at several levels - between country of origin and host country.

Immigrants have in fact several specific needs, which can only be met if contact is established between the administrations, institutions and communities in the country of origin and the host country, and in keeping with the extent of that contact.

It is enough to think, for instance, of the problems posed by the integration of migrants' children in the educational and cultural school system in the country of origin, by the recruitment and specific training of teachers, the preparation of educational material (for instance, collation of "authentic documents"), by fitting out school and city intercultural libraries, by the organisation of courses in the language and culture of origin, by problems of equivalence, all subjects for co-operation dealt with in Recommendation R (84) 18, dated 25 September 1984, of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Co-operation between country of origin and host country goes well beyond the administrative level. The study of a number of projects for alerting the community to the problem in certain regions from which emigrants originate has in fact shown the importance of the role that clubs and associations in both communities (that of villages of origin and that of communities transplanted to a foreign country) can play in opening both communities to social and cultural innovation. Such opening is at the heart of any intercultural educational project.

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(52) Cf "The school integration of the children of Greek emigrants in their parents' country of origin (Greece)" by Micheline REY (doc. DECS/EGT (85) 40) Cf also doc. DECS/EGT (83) 9 "The Coimbra Community Awareness Project (Portugal)" by Micheline REY; Recommendation No. R (84) 18 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the training of teachers in education for intercultural understanding, notably in a context of migration.

V. IDEAL SETTINGS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROJECT AIMED AT "IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR CHILDREN"

It is advisable at this stage to give a brief indication, in the light of the theoretical elucidation and educational and teaching experience obtained in the course of the project, of the terrains to be given pride of place in the education and cultural development of migrants as fundamental settings in the construction of "social communication".

5.1 Family setting: starting point

Education, if it is to be effective, must be rooted in the experience which a child has of life in general and in his knowledge. Education must be essentially planned in terms of this data, so that, whatever the direction followed in teaching, the starting point is the family and the educational life familiar to the child.

It is important for the educational system to look at the child in his child's status as an individual, and at the same time as a member of a group, and treat him accordingly.

The main responsibility for the child lies with the home, and it is here that it must stay.

The parents' role is vital for sustaining and enriching the child's development in the matter of language, perception and culture; it is a process that begins long before the child goes to school for the first time.

It is thanks to their parents that children belonging to a minority language or cultural group can have positive links with two languages and two cultures (53).

Several case studies point to the indispensable role played by the family, and particularly parents' associations, in the schooling and education of children of foreign origin. (54)

5.2 Pre-school

The first non-family educational space to which pride of place must be given is the pre-school space. The overall analysis of the case studies confirms this principle (55).

The following are the motivations disclosed by the experiments:

- pre-school is an important element for later success at school and the first, fraught, moment of transition from family to school;
- the pre-school setting is where the educational system can best apprehend, and so best follow, the dynamic changes taking place in the ethnic structure, and hence in the pluralism of its population;

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(53) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (85) 25 «The function of home and parents in an intercultural society» by Susan Opper (Council for Cultural Co-operation, School Education Division, Strasbourg 1985);

(54) Cf. docs. DECS/EGT (82) 5, op. cit; DECS/EGT (82) 7, Case Study on «Parent Involvement in Education», Borough of Haringey (London) by Elizabeth Hunter-Grundin (Council for Cultural Co-operation, School Education Division, Strasbourg 1982); DECS/EGT (82) 8, op. cit.

(55) Cf especially doc. DECS/EGT (82) 7 and DECS/EGT (82) 5, op cit.

- it is a setting where, eminently, any child including one belonging to an ethnos different from the national ethnos, first presents himself with his child's status, and where the educational approach necessitates more clearly inter-relations and interdependences between teachers and parents (familiarity with the cultural situation, attitudes, educational objectives, usually with the means employed by the parents for educational purposes);

- the parents' attitude towards education is a decisive factor for their children's success at school. Pre-school education organised in such a way as to influence that attitude can play an important role here;

- nursery school can open its doors more easily for parents and the educational community to participate in its activities designed to guide the children and awake their sensibilities.

5.3 Cursus of compulsory school attendance

School, with compulsory attendance, is an ideal institutional setting for the dissemination of culture, and one through which every new generation has to pass; it is an irreplaceable instrument for the social integration of the young, on account of:

- the basic instrumental knowledge it is deemed to pass on, such knowledge being essential for further study and access to the world of work;

- its educational role - increasingly shared with other "parallel" schools, the family, recreation with "peer" groups, the media, associations and various movements - in the construction of psycho-social and cultural identity, and in the promotion of democratic values (education in democracy, tolerance; acquisition of habits and attitudes making for a capacity to act in a way that is respectful of diversity; education for life and for intra- and extra-community relationships).

Now, both in terms of instrumental knowledge and in its educational role, school has a vital part to play vis-à-vis immigrant populations, or those who emanate from immigrant populations, in particular:

- transmission of knowledge of language and first of all command of the language of the country of residence; at a later stage, possible response to social demand (learning languages of origin through activities of associations of parents);

- allowance made in school teaching for pupils' socio-cultural assets;

- allowance made for school as a "social space" in the children's overall network of relations and specific features.

5.4 Structures of pre-vocational and vocational training (56)

Given the basic educational shortcomings of most adult immigrants faced with the problems of labour redeployment or an unfinished school cursus, or indeed failure (problems particularly affecting young people looking for work for the first time), the specific pre-vocational or vocational training structures are a strategic location where an educational project should be directed by way of priority.

Integration in the world of work is in fact one of the basic means whereby social communication is effected in an industrial society.

If there is no indication of the need for young people (at school in the country of residence) to have specific training structures (it is enough to give them access to ordinary structures), the work of Project No. 7 underlines the necessity, in the case of adults, for ad hoc programmes which, besides applying teaching methods that are suitable for adults, select students after psycho-technical tests depending on their type and educational standard, knowledge of language, vocational training or experience. Ad hoc programmes should be designed to meet the essential needs of literacy and geared towards the inclusion of students in local vocational training structures.

5.5 The neighbourhood and its social and cultural environment

The environment, the neighbourhood, the territory are settings within which the agents in an intercultural project are dovetailed, brought together.

Making the best possible use of all socio-educational and cultural resources existing on the territory proves to be one of the most effective strategies when it comes to carrying out a community intercultural project.

Territorial projects seem to be the most adequate means, (as was pointed out in paragraph 4 (d)), of mobilising the maximum number of agents playing a positive role in the perception of the local community's needs and of setting up places for and levels of co-ordination and participation.

5.6 The media

The media, where images and representations current in the social corpus are created or reinforced, present an irreplaceable instrument - along with school - for public acknowledgement of others of their cultural identity.

The media are a significant source of stereotypes and prejudices playing a considerable part in the determination of our perceptions of others, of differences (at individual or group level), our judgements of others and the way we behave towards them. The media can thus play an important role in reaching beyond ethnocentrism in inter-group relations, particularly at a time of economic and social crisis like the present, when there is evidence of rejection, intolerance, xenophobia tied up with worsening conditions of living and cohabitation (57).

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(56) Cf doc DECS/EGT (83) 3, op. cit.

(57) Cf "Action to combat intolerance and xenophobia" by Antonio PEROTTI, Council for Cultural Co-operation, Strasbourg 1985.

The media, and in particular school television programmes, can also become an important meeting-place in an educational framework geared to co-operation between schools and the broadcasting authorities, and a valuable instrument in teaching languages to children and adults. They can also play an important role in educational programmes for parents, aiming at parents to understand how school works, and to become familiar with the objectives of education (58).

5.7 Settings for artistic creation and cultural expression

In the course of its activities, Project No. 7 was able to verify the importance, in an intercultural project, of any initiative designed to secure the participation of immigrant populations, particularly the new generations, in artistic work, and cultural innovation through the staging of exhibitions, and fairs, where they can provide evidence - through photographic reporting, audiovisual shows, plays, music, painting, plastic arts, radio, press, literature - of their own view of their place in society.

What is needed is to find places, particularly in cities and districts with a large proportion of immigrants, where their expression can be recognised symbolically, where their expressions, which are generally confined to immigrant circles, can be available to a broad public, where they can provide living evidence of an intercultural factor already at work in the new generations, and be accepted as legitimate and recognised at institutional level (59).

VI. "KEY" AGENTS

6.1 Young people

The new generations are an essential partner in an intercultural educational project. The multitude of identities to which the new generations make reference, the range of general directions and objectives suggested by their associations and movements, the "trans-national" character of their social experience, and most of all the autonomous creative work they produce (music, radio, press, video, poetry, writing, novels, painting) mean that young people are a fundamental element for the promotion, conception and realisation of any educational and cultural community project.

The determination of young people to record the social situation in which they find themselves, through artistic work, their determination to react to failure to recognise their right to be there, to think of themselves as there in the future, make them irreplaceable partners in any local initiative designed to mobilise educational and cultural resources for the sake of improving inter-community relations. (60)

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(58) Cf Case Study on «Television as a meeting place» by J.M.F Teunissen, doc DECS/EGT (83) 8.
(59) Cf DECS/EGT (84) 85, op. cit.
(60) Cf DECS/EGT (84) 85, op. cit.

The search by younger generations for ways of freely expressing their feelings and «specific» aspirations on equal terms with the indigenous population is not only a challenge but also an opportunity for host societies and societies of origin, which are thus called upon:

- to abandon ethnocentrism,

- to recognise and respond to the fact that migration is an issue in their national historical development and that the reappropriation of the recollection of their migration is part of the educational and cultural development of young people,

- to embark on a rediscovery of the universal human problems and values which an exchange and comparison of different cultures raise.

Countries of origin are sometimes challenged by changes in the cultural references and aspirations of their nationals abroad and, in the same ways as host countries, should make provision for young people's new practices in their cultural policies, including the teaching of languages and cultures of origin.

The promotion of migrants' cultural expression should be aimed first and foremost at the ethnic and cultural communities that are most disadvantaged and discriminated against. There should also be encouragement and assistance for groups of young people to acquire the professional means of expressing their culture creatively, especially in the fields of information/communication (the media), literature, music, art and socio-economic initiatives. This should be done with two main objectives in mind: to foster their social integration and to alter the negative opinion that the indigenous population sometimes has of young people of foreign origin (61).

Cultural promotion policies aimed at populations with migrant backgrounds should not underestimate the emergence of an increasing number of young people who have achieved a high academic standard, up to and including university degrees.

6.2 Women

Women constitute another irreplaceable party in an intercultural educational strategy, not only because of their key role in the cultural and social development of their children but also because of their important contribution to the evolution of social and cultural practices within their family group and social group. And this is equally so in the host country as in the country of origin (in the event of return) (62).

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(61) Cf Report on «The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies: socio-cultural innovations in the member States of the CDCC» by Gabriele GÖTTELMANN (doc. DECS/EGT (86) 34)

(62) Cf «International education and migrant women», by M.A. CERRI NEGRINI DECS/EGT (85) 43

Women thus can play an important part as go-betweens in promoting closer relations between the family, their (ethnic) community, the local community and the school and in fostering the promotion of activities in respect of the ethnic group - contacts with the school, liaison for the family, community welfare, extra-curricular activities, parents' associations, home education programmes for children, attendance at classes for adults (63).

Women' access to the institutions of the host society or the society of origin (education, health, social work etc) and their participation in social organisations are important factors for enabling them to play a greater part in the affairs of their communities and in intercommunal relations as well as for enabling them to define their own situation better and express their specific needs and demands (64).

Lastly, increasing access for immigrant women to paid employment brings economic independence and a transformation of aspirations and expectations that no educational policy should underestimate.

If women are to play such a role to the full, it is necessary that the access to employment be encouraged and fostered and the provision of facilities for their general education (such as learning the host country's language) and vocational training be guaranteed.

VII. OPEN QUESTIONS

Several questions remain to be investigated at the end of this part of the report. The first gaps arise from the deliberate decision to analyse only trends defined as «underlying» and not to go beyond these several «minor» trends which do make a difference and can be expected to continue.

Examples of such trends are the continuing flow of migrants due to the process of reuniting families, the arrival of political refugees and seasonal workers and - something which is not yet adequately controlled - the flow of illegial immigrants.

Although these trends have an effect which cannot be ignored, they do not seem to cast any doubt on the apparently «irreversible» fact that a very high proportion of immigrants and their families are stably settled. Such trends do, however, call for further analysis and proposals.

A second problem area not dealt with in the report - although certain case studies have been made in this area, and some visits have been made in connection with it - is that of the flow of immigrants returning to their countries of origin and the difficulties which this causes. While such

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(63) Cf Colloquy on «Women and Migration», by L. van den BERG-ELDERING, doc. DECS/EGT (85) 28

(64) Cf doc. DECS/EGT (85) 28, op. cit.

returns, of which there are a fairly large number to certain countries (eg all Mediterranean countries), do not seriously affect the process of stabilisation, which remains dominant, they do give rise to several specific problems, especially where language and culture are concerned, and these are exacerbated because most returns involve people who have spent a long period abroad. Such cases leave several questions open: eg what approach should be adopted to immigrants who return home, particularly to children whose schooling has been abroad? What should be recommended to the institutions and communities in these people's countries of origin?

The same as to countries which receive immigrants? Or would certain ideas only apply in the latter countries?

These are questions to which answers cannot be given within the limits of the project but it would be desirable for them to be looked at during the follow-up or in other Council of Europe projects.

VIII. THE «INTERCULTURAL» OPTION: A STRATEGY ALREADY INCLUDED IN EDUCATION POLICY IN SOME COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

The intercultural approach to education is not an option put forward only in this report; its adoption is also among the main steps taken on education by the Swedish Parliament on 28 February 1985. The Swedish Parliament's decision includes acceptance of an intercultural approach in education as a basis for contents and working methods in schools in Sweden. Education from an intercultural perspective should among other things aim at bringing about positive changes of attitudes and counteracting negative attitudes and prejudice not only within the majority population but also among various ethnic minority groups. The education should also aim at increasing the understanding and mutual respect for different culturally conditioned ways of behaviour. This is in compliance with the goals and guidelines laid down for Swedish education, according to which school must be amenable to the manifestation of differing values and opinions being expressed. At the same time it is underlined that school, according to, for example, the central curriculum of 1980, must deliberately promote fundamental values of democratic society and educate pupils to respect them.

An intercultural perspective in education cannot be regarded as something which is implemented at a given time. Instead, as experience is collected, it will enter during a longer perspective of time as an aspect in among other things the training of school staff and in teaching materials. An intercultural approach does not mean special resources or a subject of its own in the curriculum or changes in the curriculum.

An intercultural approach in education should be part of school work in Sweden regardless of level of resources and should be paid attention to within the frame of existing subjects and curriculum.

The authorities in the Netherlands have already embarked on a similar course. A co-ordinated plan - the result of close co-operation between the Ministries of Cultural Affairs, of Education and Science and of Social Affairs - has been introduced. The basic principles of the present education policy were set down in a plan, «cultural minorities in education», presented to Parliament in 1981. A bill concerning educational priorities was published at the end of 1983 (65).

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(65) See the document on Project No. 7 submitted to the Council for Cultural Co-operation by the Netherlands delegation, DECS/Inf (84) 1.

PART III

Perspectives and conclusions

by

L. van der GAAG

B. JAKOBSSON

Th. MANGOT

1. Introduction

Project No. 7 ends in a period in which the position of migrants (1) and migrant communities in Europe, as well as the policies concerning them, are still evolving rapidly. An important result of Project No. 7 is the growing awareness of this evolution among all concerned and the bringing to light of a number of important elements in this process of change. The main changes or underlying trends have been described in Part II.

They are:

i. the shift from «worker» immigration to a resident population;

ii. the growth of ethnic diversity;

iii. the increasing concentration of immigrants, in general, in the poorer districts in urban areas;

iv. the background of economic crisis and the political climate.

These factual changes and trends already have had important effects on the aspirations and needs of the migrant population and on the policies pursued by the governments of both countries of origin and the countries of settlement.

The whole of the work undertaken by Project Group No. 7 has been based on the intercultural approach described in part I of the present paper as well as in the interim report appended. This approach was considered the most suitable connecting thread for analysing the situations and their evolution and as a means of stimulating initiatives enabling the various communities concerned to build up mutual relations and knowledge.

The changes described above have certain consequences for:

- migrants;

  . even though they might have arrived in the host country chiefly for economic reasons, migrants' needs and aspirations now include education, culture, housing and political participation;

  . under the influence of the new social, economic, cultural and demographic situations in the countries of settlement, new migrant (sub-) cultures are emerging that differ from both the culture(s) in the country of origin and the culture(s) in the countries of settlement.

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(1) In the present paper the word «migrants» refers also to the different ethnic communities arising out of immigration (particularly in Great Britain). It may also include refugees.

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- policies developed in most countries of residence:

  . the policies for migrant workers have been supplemented or replaced by policies for cultural or ethnic minorities. These no longer envisage the return of the migrants to the countries of origin but aim at their full participation and integration in the social, economic and cultural life of the receiving society;

  . specific institutions and services to deal with migrant affairs are no longer considered adequate. Moreover, general services and facilities are effectively more accessible to the migrant population on an equal footing with the indigenous population;

  . the fight against (ethnic) discrimination has become more urgent than ever;

  . ideas about school instruction in the language and culture of the country of origin are changing. This integration is now viewed in relation to school success and the aim of participation and integration in the life of the receiving society.

- for most of the countries of origin:

  . their main function is no longer solely to help prepare migrant families for a return to the country of origin, but also to assist migrants in integrating in the societies of the countries of settlement;

  . migrant families which do return, after having spent many years abroad, are to a growing extent requiring special facilities that are beginning to be comparable to those required in the host countries.

2. Future development

If both the fight against discrimination and programmes on behalf of the disadvantaged meet with the success hoped for, it seems justified to expect that in the future:

a. new cultural forms will emerge that will transcend the cultures of the various national or ethnic groups;

b. new loyalties will develop on the basis of religion, class, work, region etc;

c. better educational qualifications and a gradual improvement of the economic situation will increase the opportunities for social promotion open to members of ethnic minorities;

d. as a consequence of (a), (b) and (c), differences between many of the migrant communities and between these groups and indigenous groups will gradually diminish, whereas differences within the groups will emerge or become more marked;

e. as a consequence of (a), (b), (c) and (d), policies based on and aimed at national or ethnic groups as such will become less and less functional and will be replaced by problem-oriented policies (eg by policies aimed at the provision of better housing, educational or employment opportunities for all those who need them), thereby taking into account relevant aspects of ethnic background, but not being directed at specific cultural and ethnic groups in their entirety.

These trends will be marked probably by the following evolution:

- The needs of migrants as cultural and ethnic groups will be accounted for within overall policies for the entire population. These policies will have a twofold aim: on the one hand equal opportunities in education and in social and economic life, and on the other hand, the acceptance of and respect for cultural differences in a pluralist society.

- The intercultural approach in social, educational and cultural activities will be an essential element in each of the three policy phases. It will, however, become less and less associated with migration only. In a culturally pluralist society, it will characterise all educational activities and cultural contacts.

3. *Measures*

a. In order to ensure equal educational and cultural opportunities, schools need to be given the means to give more help to pupils, whether foreign or not, whose specific educational needs stem from socio-economic and/or socio-cultural factors;

b. General services and facilities should be fully accessible to all residents. Indicators must be found that will make it possible to check whether and, if so, to what extent this aim has been achieved;

c. Reliable information and a sound statistical data base are needed to improve identification of needs and for the purpose of medium- and long-term planning;

d. Equal opportunities in the labour market must be promoted by counteracting discrimination and by offering special vocational training courses to those who lack the necessary qualifications and skills required in an industrialised society.

e. *Special measures are required to solve the problems of the urban centres where underprivileged migrant and indigenous communities are concentrated. In these areas concrete action is necessary in the fields of culture, education, housing and employment.*

f. *The fight against all sorts of discrimination, between as well as within the various communities must be reinforced.*

g. *Given the important position of women, it is necessary to prepare special programmes that take into account the differing position of women in the various groups, with the aim of offering them equal opportunities in society, cultural life, the economy and politics.*

h. *The growing cultural pluralism in society, which does not spring from migration alone, necessitates new cultural policies that make provision for and support new cultural ventures.*

i. *Special intercultural programmes are necessary for children of returning migrant families, on and after their return, in both the host country and the country of origin. These programmes must be prepared with the co-operation of those countries.*

The intercultural approach, based on general acceptance of certain fundamental values like tolerance and non-discrimination must be developed further.

The importance of human rights' education at school should be emphasised in this context, since «the understanding and experience of human rights is an important element of the preparation of all young people for life in a democratic and pluralistic society. It is part of social and political education, and it involves intercultural and international understanding». (1)

3.1 *Follow-up to Project No. 7*

Project No. 7 has:

a. *contributed to the awareness of the rapid and continuing evolution of situations, problems, ideas and principles concerning the consequences of migration in Europe;*

b. *revealed the need for an intercultural approach;*

c. *collected and studied the findings of a number of practical experiments based on the intercultural approach.*

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(1) *Cf Recommendation No. R (85) 7 on teaching and learning about human rights in schools, adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 14 May 1985*

As the situation is still rapidly evolving, new ideas and new experiences will continue to present themselves. Active follow-up to Project No. 7 is therefore considered an absolute necessity.

Follow-up activities within the framework of the CDCC should concentrate on:

- *the promotion and evaluation of intercultural strategies and practices;*
- *the working out of priority educational and cultural programmes for the disadvantaged;*
- *the development and implementation of pluralist cultural policies.*

The goals of participation and integration cannot however be reached by means of educational and cultural measures alone. Efforts in the fields of housing, employment, economic development, law, etc, are equally important. There is, therefore, a need for supplementary action by other committees of the Council of Europe and for a continuous co-ordination of the various programmes.

3.2 *Suggested CDCC activities*

The Project Group suggests that the following activities be undertaken by the CDCC as a follow-up to Project No. 7 (*):

3.2.1 *recommend that national governments:*

a. *adopt the intercultural approach and make it central to their educational, cultural and social policies, for not only migrants but the population as a whole and foster new initiatives in these fields and evaluate the results;*

b. *implement intercultural policies so as to promote cultural activities including artistic and cultural innovations within the various communities;*

c. *adapt educational and cultural programmes for the under-privileged communities to meet the specific need of disadvantaged migrants;*

d. *carry out special educational and cultural programmes aimed at the achievement of equal opportunities for migrant women;*

e. *promote training schemes with an intercultural dimension, for people involved in social work and in the fields of education and culture;*

(*) These recommendations are not in order of priority.

f. encourage people who devise teaching aids to take into account, in an intercultural perspective, a broader range of linguistic and cultural diversity in their materials;

g. plan integrated policy measures in the various fields for urban centres where disadvantaged migrant and indigenous communities are concentrated;

h. co-operate with and within the Council of Europe in establishing systematic exchange of information on the experience gained;

i. allow residents from other member countries to attend courses, seminars and other meetings on the topics under discussion;

j. co-operate in the implementation of a co-ordinated European research programme on the situation of migrants and migrant communities and the development of a culturally pluralist society;

k. treat the question of cultural and educational needs as they relate to migration and its consequences as a permanent subject of concern, in particular at European conferences of specialised ministers.

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Under all the above headings the potential of the mass media and other audiovisual resources should be fully exploited.

3.2.2 Take due consideration, in the programmes, activities and projects of the Council of Europe, of the educational and cultural needs of migrants and migrant communities and of the implications of the adoption of the intercultural approach.

3.2.3 Earmark a number of Council of Europe scholarships for courses, seminars and other meetings on the implementation of the intercultural approach.

3.2.4 Encourage activities of non-governmental organisations, including migrants' associations to carry out intercultural activities and support their activities in this field.

3.2.5 *Organise or promote the systematic exchange of information between member States on practical experiences and research relating to intercultural education, in co-operation with international institutions and non-governmental organisations. The clearing house function could be assumed either by the Secretariat of the Council of Europe or by a national institute that would act as a European centre.*

3.2.6 *Promote the preparation and implementation of a co-ordinated European research programme concerning the problems under discussion.*

The following topics should be included in such a programme:

a. *particular cultural and social factors that have an effect on the academic success of migrant children in various school systems;*

b. *the teaching of the language of the country of residence in relation to success and failure at school;*

c. *the teaching of the language and culture of the country of origin in relation to success and failure at school;*

d. *the relationship between parents and schools with reference to the need to ensure the optimum development of each child's potential;*

e. *the role of social mediators in the migrant population, with special emphasis on the role of migrant women as go-betweens between their community and the local institutions;*

f. *the special educational needs of physically and mentally handicapped migrant children;*

g. *the socio-cultural role of older migrants;*

h. *the impact on education and culture of the increasingly wide range of occupations now undertaken by people of migrant origin;*

i. *the identification of common cultural factors in the cultures involved and the question of different and conflicting sets of values and the «negotiability» of values;*

j. *migrants and laws (direct or indirect discrimination against foreign residents resulting from existing laws and regulations);*

k. the position of migrant women: high priority should be given to the problems of second generation migrant girls, to the role of migrant women's associations and to statistical research;

l. the position of migrant men, with special reference to changes in family life due to migration;

m. the conditions for migrants' return to their countries of origin and their reintegration into those countries' educational, cultural and social systems in the light of their multicultural experience.

3.2.7 *Draw up, in close co-operation with governments and possibly with non-governmental organisations, including migrants' associations, plans for the dissemination of the results of Project No. 7 and the subsequent activities that are suggested as a follow-up to the Project.*

3.2.8 *Organise a seminar in 1988 with a view to taking stock of the situation and advising the CDCC on further action.*

SHORT ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL GLOSSARY OF IMMIGRATION TERMS

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by

A. PEROTTI

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ADAPTATION:

Process deriving mainly from the ability of a human being to adapt to a new situation or new environment. By analogy with biological adaptation, which is the result of every living organism's capacity to adjust to surroundings different from its original environment by changing in some of its features, adaptation is the result of an immigrant's ability to become part of a set-up that already exists and to use its resources. The term is used mainly in social psychology. Unlike integration, adaptation does not imply mutual exchange (between the immigrant and the host society), but a one-way process (a change on the part of the immigrant). Adaptation can take place even when the immigrant is not on an equal footing with the members of the host society and in the absence of involvement.

ASSIMILATION:

Process in which relations between migrants and the host society are established through unilateral transmission (through a process of conforming) of the behaviour patterns of the host society, which are imposed on migrants' personalities. Migrants are thus obliged to cast aside everything that makes up their own culture (with the result that they lose their culture and their personalities). The term refers mainly to culture.

Assimilation involves the playing of a passive role by one culture in relation to another, the dominant culture, together with a value judgement, some cultures being considered superior to others.

Cultural assimilation should not be confused with assimilation in the legal or institutional sense of naturalisation (acquisition of nationality), which can take place even when the migrant's own cultural identity is preserved.

CULTURE:

This term is widely used in anthropology with reference to a group or a people. It refers to a complex combination of knowledge, codes, symbols, written and unwritten rules, behaviour patterns, values, interests, aspirations, beliefs and myths, all of which are interdependent. All this is reflected in everyday practices and behaviour (dress, culinary habits, accommodation, posture, types of relationships, the organisation of the family and religious practices). Culture encompasses living and doing. This complex structure stems from the technical, economic and social changes peculiar to a particular society in a given place and at a given time. It is the product of the convergence of the three protagonists in life: man, nature and society.

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CULTURAL DEMOCRACY:

"Cultural democracy" is a recent concept stemming from the resurgence of movements promoting regional and national minority cultures in certain countries, especially European countries, which have experienced a unifying, centralising process inconsistent with the right to be different. It was this situation that prompted, for instance, the European Parliament resolution of 16 October 1961 on a Community charter for regional languages and cultures and a charter of rights of ethnic minorities.

"Cultural democracy" is the object of a political strategy prompted by the increasing cultural diversity in European societies. The aim is to give each individual and group the means of achieving real cultural fulfilment.

The strategy is to establish the conditions crucial to the success of the scheme by combating discrimination and any social stigmas attached to particular cultures. The scheme is ushering in the concept of "cultural citizenship". by analogy with the concept of political citizenship (which involves the right to vote and delegation of authority) and social citizenship (social rights). This presupposes a transition from the elitist concept of culture to a concept that fosters cultural diversity both in geographical terms and in terms of individuals and groups. (1)

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The term "cultural identity" covers two very important concepts. The first is that of identity, which has mainly a psychological meaning. Identity refers to each individual's perception of himself, ie of his "own consciousness of existing" as a person in relation to other individuals with whom he forms a social group (eg family, association, church, country).

This perception of identity is not purely individual, but rather a question of mutual recognition between the individual and society. It comprises a subjective aspect (perception of self-identity and of the continuity of one's own existence in time and space) and a relational and collective aspect (perception of the fact that others acknowledge the individual's own identity and continuity).

On the other hand, the term "cultural" has a more typically sociological meaning. It comes from the word "culture", defined as the overall heritage both of the individual and, especially, of the social groups to which he belongs. This cultural heritage therefore consists of the "standards of behaviour", values, "customs" and language which unite or differentiate human groups.

When we speak of a person's cultural identity we mean his overall identity, which is a collection of several particular identifications with as many separate cultural entities.

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(1) Cf. Resolution No. 1 on "The challenges to cultural policy in our changing society" of the Ad Hoc Conference of European Ministers with responsibility for Cultural Affairs (Oslo 1976).

ETHNIC IDENTITY

Although cultural identity is often equated with ethnic identity in immigration matters, the latter has a more restricted meaning. It refers to a common history or origin represented by a common heritage which, however, covers only a fragment of the group's culture.

This consciousness (the ethnic group's collective consciousness) is based on objective elements such as common language, race or religion, and common territory, institutions or cultural features, although some of these elements might be missing. There is a more or less pronounced, but always real, gap between ethnic and cultural identity. Ethnic identity is the first stage of cultural identity. Reducing cultural identity to ethnic identity - ie to only one of the significant identities one possesses - would mean effectively reducing the individual's real identity to nothing (cf Selim ABOU, "L'identité culturelle. Relations interethniques et problèmes d'acculturation").

"INSERTION":

This term, for which there is no satisfactory English equivalent, is being used increasingly widely in French. It refers solely to the processes connected with the practical business of life, such as going to school and finding accommodation and employment (and thereby becoming part of society and contributing to the economy). Unlike integration, "insertion" does not encompass all areas of life; nor does it imply mutual exchange. People can become part of society while fully retaining their cultural identity. The opposite of "insertion" is exclusion and relegation to the fringe of society.

INTEGRATION:

The concept of integration contrasts with that of assimilation; it is connected with the capacity of both immigrant and host society to compare and exchange values, standards and behaviour patterns on an equal footing and in a situation where there is involvement. Integration is the gradual process whereby new residents come to take an active part in the economy, society, the community and the cultural and spiritual life of the country in which they are immigrants. Relations (between people from different cultures) are crucial to integration, which presupposes a mingling of cultures and rules out the merging or juxtaposition of different cultures. It also presupposes the integration of communications, ie the integration of the means of communication and the communications network of the host country with those of the immigrant communities. Integration as a socio-cultural process should not be confused with "racial integration", which consists in establishing a system whereby different racial communities within the same State have the same civil status. This is political integration, which precedes socio-cultural integration.

ETHNIC MINORITIES:

It is wrong to consider the term "immigrant communities" to be interchangeable with "ethnic minorities". A political claim to its own identity is an essential feature of an ethnic minority. The concept of ethnic minority gives the concept of identity political connotations that encompass all the factors which are used in ideological warfare and give unity of purpose to an ethnic minority, or a section of such a minority. Nowadays these political connotations may stem from the superimposition of two phenomena: immigration and decolonisation.

In sociological literature, the concept of "minority" is primarily connected with the process whereby a nation is formed. A distinction can be drawn here between four types of multi-ethnic national situations, depending on whether their history is one of nationalism, conquest, slavery and colonisation or immigration. Although there may be technical analogies between multi-ethnic national situations throughout the world, situations involving ethnic minorities are seen in different lights depending on which of these four kinds of history lies behind them. The attitude towards the minorities present is different in each case, as are the motives underlying their demands. This difference in social and historical context affects the relationships between the majority and minorities.

INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY:

This is the object of a political strategy which takes as its basis cultural pluralism (which already exists in society but is confined to the juxtaposition of cultures and to efforts to increase the status of the cultures of ethnic groups). The strategy is to promote a new synthesis of cultures. In contrast to a melting pot, in which the various cultural models merge together with loss of personal identity, and in contrast to the cosmopolitanism fostered by the international cultural assets market, the strategy of producing a "new synthesis of cultures" entails devising original models based on the cultures present but not confined to any one of them and grafting these on to the basic national culture, which will thereby be enhanced and given new life.

SOCIALISATION:

Process whereby the culture of a society is passed on to the younger generation. It occurs as the personal identities of the members of that generation are forged. Children learn to see themselves as others see them and to recognise the roles of others. A distinction is drawn between primary socialisation (which takes place in the family) and secondary socialisation (which takes place at school and through contacts with other formal or informal social groups, especially peer groups).

A P P E N D I X I

Strasbourg, 5 December 1983

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COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

45th Session

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(Strasbourg, 31 January - 3 February 1984)

Project No. 7

«The education and cultural development of migrants»

INTERIM REPORT OF THE PROJECT GROUP TO THE CDCC

prepared by Professor Louis PORCHER, Chairman of the Group

and

adopted by the Project's Restricted Group
(Strasbourg, 21-22 November 1983)

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Aims and working methods of the Project

Having regard to the terms of reference given by the CDCC to Project Group No. 7 on the education and cultural development of migrants, the Group's strategy since 1981 has been established on the following lines:

1. The subject is education and culture, and not just one of the two ;

2. Its scope embraces adults and children ;

3. The basic option is for the intercultural approach, both as a principle and as an aim.

The term "intercultural", as understood here, is a result of four elements:

a. most of our societies have become more and more multicultural,
b. each culture has its own specific characterisations which are worthy of respect,
c. multiculturalism is a potential source of enrichment,
d. to enable multiculturalism to become a reality, we must achieve communication and interaction between all the cultures concerned without denying the specific identity of any, and must stimulate the multicultural situation to make it truly intercultural, with all the dynamism which this implies (in terms of communication and interaction especially).

In other words, interculturalism is not an end in itself. It is mainly a tool to be used in promoting equality of chances and an optimum integration into social and economic life.

4. In the field under review, the greatest danger lies in mere juxtaposition, and therefore isolation and mutual ignorance. Priority must therefore be given to links, connections, relations and borderline or contact areas. Three themes were therefore chosen :

a. links between the school and family institutions,
b. links between school culture and out-of-school culture,
c. links between child education and adult education.

5. Four methods of work for each of these themes were chosen, so as to combine theory and practice:

a. case studies: Each country was invited to suggest those developments or experiments it regarded as significant for each of the themes. According to the traditional methodological principal of cross analysis, an expert was sent to make an on-the-spot appraisal of each case selected by the Project Group. In all, 16 case studies were carried out and published, with the help of 12 experts, who were called together beforehand in order to lay down specifications whereby an effective comparison of the results could be made. A final synthesis will be made at the end of the Project

b. visits: These were selected in the same way, but this time a team, with a single rapporteur, was sent to the spot. Three visits have been carried out, (to the United Kingdom, Portugal and Austria), thus alternating between host countries and countries of origin, and a further one is planned on the same lines;

c. studies: Some basic concepts remain very obscure, as everyone recognises. In order to clarify them, it therefore seemed necessary to call together experts in various disciplines. On the basis of specifications drawn up by the Project Group, these experts first drafted a text, then met to debate it either with members of the Project Group, or with the Group as a whole. Two studies, each comprising several texts, were produced in this way with the help of 16 outside experts. So it was that, for instance, a study was drawn up on what could be considered as "migrant cultures", such as they are defined by various specialists, from host countries as well as from countries of origin. This study was and still is a great success, and in constant demand;

d. practical exercises, particularly in the form of training and activation courses will be held at the end of the Project to put the work into concrete form.

6. Members of the Group frequently took part in various international colloquies, always at the request of the organisers.

7. A collection of short stories, focused on the problem of interculturalism, is being prepared as part of the Project, by a group of writers from different cultural backgrounds.

The present interim report has been drawn up on the basis of this considerable mass of work, not as a summary thereof, but as a synthesis in the form of a programme assessment.

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If one wishes to make a pragmatic assessment of the education and cultural development of migrants, one must distinguish as clearly as possible between three main types of reality: subjects on which there is unanimous agreement, both among specialists and among the social agents concerned; those which remain problematical, because they have not been explored in depth, and finally, projects which could be launched to help to solve the most acute problems. In short, the work highlights, on the one hand, what is already known (even if interrogatively) and clarifies, on the other, the choices which it would seem desirable to make and the best conditions for putting them into practical effect.

I - THE CORE: COMMON FEATURES UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED

Here one can identify an appreciable corpus of knowledge about which there is de facto agreement both as regards the questions that arise and as regards existing realities.

1. Diversity as the overriding factor

So far as can be reasonably foreseen, migrations will remain a structural phenomenon in Europe and a component of our societies, even if the ways in which they evolve are in constant flux. From this viewpoint, which consists in simply noting that the multicultural dimension has now become characteristic of societies in general, it is unanimously recognised that the main feature is diversity:

- diversity of ethnic, cultural and national groups living in one and the same host country,
- diversity of the languages concerned (mother tongues), regional languages, national languages, languages of communication, languages as a teaching medium,
- diversity of cultural attachments: religion, ways of life, forms of expression, beliefs, outlooks, hierarchy of values,
- diversity in the age of migrants,
- diversity of official status (administrative, political, economic, legal, even historical in its broadest sense),
- diversity of scale: migration from one particular country to another may be much greater than from others and even less to another country,
- diversity of percentages: the proportion of migrants varies enormously from one European country to another. A small migrant population can represent a large percentage in a host country which is itself small,
- diversity of organisation: the network of associations, in particular, varies considerably in present-day Europe, whether it be those dependent on the host country or those belonging to the country of origin,

- diversity of occupations,
- diversity of schooling and training,
- diversity of the intentions of the migrants themselves (shorter or longer-term return to their country, integration in the host country, etc),
- diversity of migration policies,
- diversity of schemes already carried out,
- diversity of the length of time already spent in the host country,
- diversity of the needs felt,
- diversity of geographical distances between countries of origin and host countries,
- diversity of the attitudes of native populations towards foreigners and ethnic minorities living in their country,
- diversity of historical relationshipsbetween host countries and countries of origin

This diversity - or this plurality - goes to make up the present state of migration. It cannot be diminished, nor should it be. As a result, general measures covering migrants as a whole cannot of themselves solve the problems arising, for their character is that of a mosaic. To turn towards uniform methods of approach would inevitably bring about standardisation, with failure as the inevitable result. It is therefore a question of seeking scaled down solutions which are flexible, adaptable and capable of "fitting" diverse local situations. Let there be no mistake: no-one is advocating ad hoc, anarchical, unplanned or improvised action; it is merely essential that methods of organisation should enable real account to be taken of diversities, precisely because they are not marginal phenomena but the very nature of reality.

2. Identical features notwithstanding

There is nothing paradoxical, unless superficially, about pointing out identical features after laying the stress on diversities. The fact is that the two dimensions co-exist and must therefore be taken together, through their very interconnections. A number of analogies are unanimously seen as irrefutable:

- uprootedness away from the home society,
- socio-cultural dependence,
- socio-economic dependence,
- the tendency to withdraw into closed communities, as a double result of exclusion and ethnic cohesion,

- certain upsurges of xenophobia in the host countries, probably linked with the world economic crisis but, nevertheless, very real,

- aspiration to the right of expression,

- administrative and legal identity in certain fields, particularly as a result of the EEC Directive of 1977,

- finally an analogy which, though vital, is too often overlooked and which stems from the very universality of humanity. The world-wide growth of demands relating to human rights represents in this respect both a proof and a symptom not to be ignored,

- belonging to the same time and place.

This corpus of analogies shows in turn the importance of being constantly on one's guard against reducing migration problems to a series of differences with nothing in common. It is not a question of an analogy of standardisation, but the analogy of principles which gives their true nature to the diversities. This means in particular that any measures to be taken should be determined by choices specific to one field and adaptable to particular situations. For this reason, our intercultural choice takes into account this two-fold dialectical discussion of analogy and diversity.

It may be defined in terms of three main ideas which are clear and simple, despite the assertions of some of those opponents for whom the intercultural concept is no more than a tissue of obscurities in which no-one could ever recognise his own kind. These three main ideas may be summarised as follows :

- All our societies are at present multicultural, whether we like it or not, realise it or not. This is due not only to the presence of migrants in their midst. In all present-day societies there is a co-existence and inter-penetration of several types of cultures: the national culture, regional culture, child culture, female culture, professional culture, foreign culture etc, and these cultures may each be dominant or subsidiary, massive or thinly spread, vague or explicit, demanded or refused etc. They may also be of a sectorial nature, political culture, sports culture, media culture, play culture, religious culture etc.

- The cultural practices and values which society nurtures are both coherent with one another and riddled with contradictions, but are always entitled to dignity and self-expression.

- Since, by their own diversity, they are a source of enrichment and not of enfeeblement, it is important to put them in context with one another, to cross-fertilise them, and to establish communication and outlets between them. Such, precisely, is the aim of the intercultural option, as its name clearly indicates (an option which was adopted at Dublin in 1983 by the Standing Conference of the European Ministers of Education).

3. The importance of inter-relationships

Precisely because migratory phenomena consist of the functional interweaving of diversity and analogy, they are in constant danger of being deprived of one of their dimensions. The vast ideological and bureaucratic machinery which dominates society has a strong leaning towards simplification which causes it to turn a blind eye to certain differences (either by neglect or because they are felt to be negligible), to deal with complex phenomena by reducing them to a single dimension, to separate fields and to isolate sectors which are actually interdependent.

Admittedly, one must select in order to act. One can rarely group a global phenomenon in its entirety, especially when it is as complex as migration. But, when making a choice, ie working on a single facet of reality - as one is bound to do - at least one should not forget the choice just made, one's simplification of the phenomenon and the expedient one has resorted to in the interests of action. Otherwise, one is inevitably led to mistake the simplification for the reality, the part for the whole and the reduced model for the full-scale original.

And it is to just this oversight that the administrative empires so readily succumb. They leave aside the relationships between the various factors of the migratory phenomenon because each is concerned with only one of them, which it finally regards as independent of the rest, operating in an intrinsically autonomous manner. To avoid this constantly recurring danger, there is now general agreement that stress should be laid precisely on connections, links, inter-relations, forms of interdependence and border-line areas. There are many of these relationships at different levels:

- between the school and family institutions,
- between school and neighbourhood,
- between teachers and parents,
- between native and foreign children, and, more generally, between natives and foreigners,
- between foreigners themselves,
- between male status and female status,
- between the host country and the country of origin,
- between child education and adult education,
- between the media and educational institutions,
- between the various strata of the society under review (host country or country of origin),
- between outlooks and learning processes,

- between the values and cultural development of an individual or a community (national or otherwise),
- between North and South,
- between the various southern countries (South-South relations),
- concerning the dominant position of one language over another (on world, national, school, cultural and regional levels),
- between education and occupation (and, in particular, with the labour market, in the host country as well as the country of origin),
- between pedagogical tools and the dominant strata of a given society at a given moment,
- between school and culture,
- between the economic and cultural fields,
- between culture and the social promotion of an individual and of a community.

As the sciences have developed, the most distinguished scholars have often stressed that the maximum epistomological results were to be obtained from research on border areas, on points of contact between various sciences. This, for instance, is what has given birth to bio-chemistry, bio-medicine, anatomo-physiology, etc, all of which are mixed disciplines which gain from their very mixing.

We certainly have a comparable situation in our field of concern. By systematically and selectively exploring these border-line territories where there are links between the various facets of migration, we shall have a better chance of discovering the real complexity of the facts. A trend in this direction is indeed under way in the human sciences akin to the field we are concerned with: psycho-linguistics, socio-linguistics, ethno-methodology are sufficient proof of this, if proof were needed.

One is bound to admit, however, that progress is slower in the realm of action than in research. In most of our countries, for instance, the education of adult migrants and their children comes under two different ministries. The same applies, in most cases, to educational and cultural practices. It can happen, moreover, that this division of responsibility is further complicated by the existence of a special ministry responsible for all the country's migration problems, while the technical powers of the ministries just mentioned remain the same.

In short, it is clear that any real progress with the education and cultural development of migrants involves a struggle against fragmentation and against the rigidity of bureaucratic divisions. Steps must be taken to achieve greater flexibility and the creation of inter-acting networks, for this is the only means of avoiding isolation and reviving in everyone - individuals, institutions and communities - the will and incentive to become fully and consciously involved in the work to be done.

4. Theory and practice

This brings us to a particularly sensitive aspect of the problem. Strictly speaking, it should have been treated in the previous chapter, since it is certainly one of the embodiments of a network of mutual relations. It is well and truly the relationship between theory and practice that is at issue here. It is simply that, in our field, this aspect is of such importance in the debate, and arouses so much passion and controversy and justifies so much effort, not to mention gratuitous assertions, that everyone agrees that the question is crucial in itself.

The question comes up in every training course, every cultural measure, every discussion between specialists or practitioners, every relevant work and every debate, which is a sure sign that people are unanimous in saying, in various forms, that here is a Europe-wide problem. It will be noted merely that the migration phenomenon is not the only one in which this issue is at stake. But it is no doubt here that it is most acute as well as most intractable.

On the one hand, everyone calls for more practical action. The "field" is everything. The results must be "concrete", "practical", "of immediate usefulness" etc. One should get away from speechifying, from "fine phrases" (which are readily described as "woolly"). The various practitioners, or those who claim to be such (teachers, administrators, animateurs) set themselves up as the exponents of this mysterious "field" while everyone pretends to have forgotten that its essential feature is none other than diversity.

Yet, at the same time, the same people may call on "theorists" (also called "research workers", linguists, anthropologists, university scholars etc) to give "answers" to problems arising in the field. Just as if the latter were asking its own questions. At the same time, many "theorists", feeling perhaps guilty because of their remoteness from their famous "fields", join voices with the practitioners who are calling for more "concrete" work. In this confused and chaotic debate, it is strange that nobody seems to ask what exactly is meant by the term "concrete". In concrete terms, if we dare put it like that, what is it?

On the other hand, in a minor key, very many individuals, authorities, practitioners or theorists, call for the launching of "studies and research", often without further explanation and almost always without clearly distinguishing what amounts to a mere discussion of ideas from the type of austere research work which prides itself on checking its variables and providing proof of its case. At all costs, there is undoubtedly a call for research and theoretical work.

All in all, two important things can be noted: a demand for more practice and more theory, and an outspoken dissatisfaction at the relationship at present prevailing between theory and practice. No doubt this is no contradiction, but at least one is faced with a difficulty from which there are few signs of escape at the moment. But all are unanimous in posing the problem.

That is obviously the most significant factor, for it shows in particular the uneasiness which is prevalent today about migration as a field of knowledge and social action. It is a remarkable symptom of the importance attributed to this issue by our societies. If such quarrels continue in such confusion, arousing so much passion over such huge misunderstandings, it is because nobody can see clearly and prove his/her point, despite the dogmatic and preremptory tone of the assertions made. Moreover, these are all the more dogmatic the less they can be proved. An age-old phenomenon.

We must therefore try to dispel some of this fog. The only point which seems to be relatively certain today is that there should be firm insistance that roles must not be confused, that the practitioner should not try to behave as a practitioner and a theorist at the same time, and that the theorist in turn should not have the pretension to behave both as a theorist and as a practitioner. Otherwise, seeking to be Jacks of all trades, they would end up masters of none. Practice (pedagogical or cultural) is a profession which the theorist is unable (or no longer able) to follow and for which, in any case, he has not enough time. Theorising is also a professional activity, which proceeds at its own pace and requires specific conditions; but practitioners are exactly those who are subject to time factors beyond their control, which are imposed on them and hamper the conduct of independent research.

In that case, it may be asked, is there to be a radical division of labour, a dense and impenetrable barrier? Certainly not. The practitioner can perfectly well carry out research, provided he has acquired the training and allowed himself the necessary time. The theorist is perfectly capable of helping with practice, if only he has learned how it functions and has assimilated its constraints. But why should he? Obviously the best solution is to provide conditions for real co-operation, for an effective joint endeavour in which each makes use of his own skills. In teamwork (football, cinema, ministry, surgery,etc) once the roles are allotted and complement one another, each sticks to his own role, or else the work would never be complete.

At some point, there must be an investigation. without subterfuge or intimidating discourse, into the reason why such teamwork is so rare in our field. Up to now, nowhere has there been discussion with a minimum of calm, with the result that no progress has been made for several years. An external sociologist would have no difficulty in detecting the symptoms of a struggle for territory, power and legitimacy. Let it be said incidentally that the migrants themselves, who are the people most closely concerned in this matter, are very little, and very seldom, consulted.

In the midst of these antagonistic and confused demands, a solution on the following lines could be imagined:

- In the field of migrant education and cultural development, practical needs are both considerable and urgent (pedagogical tools, guide books, methods, audio-visual material etc). Here practitioners and they alone, can and must be the masters while theorists play the part of service suppliers.

- The need to provide studies, conduct research and create knowledge is also great. This work is the responsibility of theorists, while practitioners must play the part of service suppliers.

For the moment, one is bound to admit that very little progress is being made in this direction, although it is the trend which is generally felt to need priority.

5. Values and outlooks

In the last few years, the problem of values and outlooks has become daily more acute in our field. As a few sociologists (Max WEBER in particular), showed at the beginning of the century, man's relationship to values determines his whole conduct, and one cannot short-circuit it with impunity, for religion, moral standards and beliefs are at work here. Everything is affected by them, whether one likes it or not, realises it or not. If the teaching is to be effective (ie fully assimilated by the personality), it must take them into account, and the same applies to its stimulation of cultural activity.

In the case of migrants, the problem becomes particularly important because the value system of the home societies often differs greatly from that of the host societies. Furthermore, owing to the very nature of the migration situation, the latter tends to stifle the former or at least to reduce it almost to silence. All educationists have now observed that if one neglects or ignores the value system of migrant children, they remain isolated from the world of the school.

More generally, one can see through the second generation how deep is the influence of this relationship to values in every field. It is genuinely a matter of cultural identity, and therefore of personal identity, and in fact these young people of the second generation find themselves trapped in an area of cultural conflict. Torn between two loyalties and two value systems, they can no longer find their bearings, and that is the root cause of their familiar malaise.

The same analysis holds good for the problem of outlooks, since outlooks are to a large extent built on a value system instilled into the individual. Outlooks, or ways of looking at life, are always the filter through which the learner receives instruction or perceives a cultural activity. It is therefore essential to take account of them and, more particularly, to refrain from behaving as if they were the same for everyone. They differ widely according to cultural background and, this being so, migrants are particularly concerned, insofar as their outlooks are often markedly different from those of the host country; insofar, moreover, as they and the natives are both unaware of this. For it is a truism to say that everyone tends to believe that the world is just as he sees it and that everyone therefore sees it in the same light.

Outlooks and values are one of the main present-day problems in our field, and this holds good everywhere.

6. Instrumental requirements

These are still of great importance, of course, even if they are seen through/reflected in values and outlooks. There is abundant literature on the subject. We shall therefore limit ourselves to some of the vital sectors concerning these requirements:

- language needs (in the host language and, in a different way, in the language of origin),

- vocational training needs (to obtain a satisfactory job),

- school needs (which the great mass of migrants experience in the same way as natives: the fondest hope of the parents is that their children should be as successful as possible in the education system of the host country, according to the standards of the latter. All who, speak or claim to speak, on behalf of migrants, in one way or another, would do well to reflect on this),

- the needs of civic communication (how administrations, services and branches of activity (eg medicine) work),

- the needs of social communication (systems of norms and values accepted by the majority, implicit ways of life, relationships to the media),

- the needs of personal and collective expression.

It is clear that, within each of these fields, there are differences between the various migration strata which should be taken into account: migrant women, for instance, have no doubt less urgent language needs than the men (in the host language), as have second generation adolescents compared with their parents.

It is important in any case not to let oneself be blinded by a certain wave of opposition to instrumental learning which has swept over us in the last few years. Under intimidating pressure from those who raise their voices because they have claimed the authority to act as spokesmen, there has been a tendency to give pride of place among migrants' needs to their indubitably deep need for cultural identity, to the detriment of their instrumental needs, which are held to be of secondary and doubtful importance as well as being easy to satisfy.

All this is wrong because of its very exaggeration. As shown in the previous paragraph, no one can deny the acuteness of the need for culture, but it is absurd to assert that it should obscure everything else and dismiss them as mere "props". Migrants themselves, and not the ideologists who talk about them, place these instrumental needs in their rightful place, and never cease to hope they will be satisfied. There is no question therefore of our abandoning them, even though we may be frequently accused of pragmatism.

7. Migration as a "total social phenomenon"

The concept of a "total social phenomenon", as conceived by Marcel MAUSS, applies to any social phenomenon through which it is possible to ascertain how a society functions as a whole. It is therefore a phenomenon which covers all the essential features of a society. It is a sort of mirror, a miniature reproduction or microcosm of society. This being so, if it is to be properly understood it must be seen as a whole, that is to say in all its dimensions, even if, of course, one does not examine them all at once.

In this sense migration deserves to be called a total social phenomenon. It must always, therefore, be considered as a whole, without reduction of scale or omission of unpleasant realities. In particular, in the matter of educational and cultural development, it must not be overlooked that this dimension is always very closely influenced by economic and political realities which determine the situation of migrants. Thus, for instance, migrants' housing, the circumstances of their integration in the community and in the legal system, their political rights and obligations, the state of North-South relations and the world economic crisis form at one and the same time the immediate background and the distant prospect of any analysis or intervention in the field of education and cultural development.

II. QUESTIONS STILL LEFT OPEN

Onto the core which we have just described, only too briefly, are grafted the major questions which are still open to debate and give rise to several, sometimes conflicting options. The future will no doubt produce an answer to some of these questions, either by the progress of knowledge or by an evolution which we cannot foresee today. It seems probable, on the other hand, that others will remain open, to the extent that they reflect fundamental options which are irreconcilable because impossible to prove either way, and are dependent on different views of life.

We shall not attempt here to make an exhaustive inventory of all these questions, but simply take up those which, in present-day experience, really cannot be avoided.

1. Teaching of the languages and cultures of origin

In this context there is a certain measure of agreement, symbolised by the EEC Directive, that such teaching is desirable and forward-looking. Several problems arise, however, about which opinions differ considerably, while at the same time they also enjoy the relative consensus mentioned above.

a. What is the language and culture of origin?

According to the Community texts in their present form, and leaving aside special initiatives (by private circles, or associations), the language of origin is the national language or one of the national languages of the migrants' home country. So what about the regional languages of the countries concerned, if any? One knows how important this question is, both in highly decentralised countries and in those with powerful regional movements. If a child's language of origin is a regional language (presumably) not recognised nationally, what is to be done and what should one think?

The same can be said about the mother tongue concept. It can obviously happen that an individual's mother tongue (strictly speaking: the mother's language, or the language received during primary education) is neither a regional language, nor the official language of the home country. Here again, what should be done, and of what use is the teaching of the language of origin?

In matters of culture, the debate is just as clear-cut and we have already touched on it. Every society, including that of the home country, is of course multicultural. What then is meant by teaching "the" culture of origin? Furthermore, migrant children and adolescents and those from ethnic minorities living in the host country for some length of time, and particularly second generation migrants, become immersed in a different culture. Gradually a new and peculiar culture grows up within them, which is neither the home culture nor the host country's culture, but an original mixture. People are apt to call it immigrant or migrant culture, but nobody yet knows exactly what it is, except that it too is multiple.

b. New inequalities?

Another great debate arises from doubts about the precise effects of teaching the language and culture of origin. In sociology the concept of a "perverse effect" is used to denote an ill effect produced unwittingly and unexpectedly as a result of an activity which is intrinsically positive and reflects the right intentions. Some detect a perverse effect in the teaching we are now discussing and, for that reason, have become more lukewarm in their support.

The official introduction of instruction in the languages and cultures of origin, though intrinsically positive, results in the creation of strata within migratory groups. For instance, what happens in particular to populations who find it difficult to identify their language of origin: be it a minority language not officially recognised by the country itself; one of the languages for which there are not enough competent teachers (one calls to mind certain African languages); a Creole language; or a language which is difficult to teach regularly in a school context for cultural and structural reasons (the languages of gypsy populations, for instance).

c. Pedagogical problems

While lessons are being held in the languages and cultures of origin, what do autochtone children do? And if one intends migrant children to be able to succeed as well as autochtones in the host country's school system, how can migrant children have access to what the autochtones have learnt during that time?

For all these reasons, and others besides, the debate in this field remains wide open, although there is basic agreement about the value of such teaching (and it is precisely this contradiction that shows how much is at stake).

2. The question of the education and cultural development of migrant women

The details of this question have been known for several years. One is dealing, therefore, with the relatively commonplace. In spite of this the debate is still completely open. For several clearly defined reasons - economic, social and cultural - migrant women do not really enjoy the same status as men. Fewer of them practise an occupation outside the home. More often than men they assume domestic responsibilities; they participate much more rarely in institutional learning or cultural activity schemes and they do not have the same perogatives as men in matters of behaviour and decision-making (consider, for instance, the problems of the life choices of second generation adolescents in certain immigrant populations). This is the broad outline, (even though, in this too, the situation may change according to the country and the ethnic groups concerned).

Having recalled the picture, what conclusions can one reach concerning the initiatives to be taken, activities to be promoted and schemes to be launched? This is where the debate begins. Should one carry out operations specifically designed for such women, at the risk of putting them in a segregated situation, since this would be treating them differently from men? Conversely, should one do nothing specific for them, at the risk of accentuating the differences?

Similarly, if special thought and action is devoted to migrant women, should they or should they not be included in the vast movement in Europe which is now aiming at levelling out inequalities and removing forms of discrimination from which women have suffered for centuries in our societies? If so, is there not a danger of imposing a Europe-centred socio-cultural model? If not, do we not run the opposite risk of leaving these women in a situation of traditional dependence which will separate them still further from their sisters in the host country and, therefore, intensify their segregation from the society of the host country?

Here again the solutions differ. They are always framed in terms of options - sometimes concealed - and options can never be confused with demonstrable proofs (ideological or political options, cultural or religious options, intellectual or philosophical options, but at all events options and all kinds at that).

3. The problems of return

This is perhaps the issue which gives rise to the most extreme attitudes, the most unrelenting conflicts and the most categorical debates. In this context too the fundamental facts of the problems have been known for many years, and they are presented here in a deliberately sketchy manner.

An almost constant feature of migration is that the immigrant has left his country temporarily, with the intention of returning sooner or later. Once in the host country, the immigrant continues to believe in this, or at least persists in talking about "returning home", which sometimes helps him to convince himself and cope with his difficult condition. It is a fact, moreover, that the flow of migrants returning home is constant, and this for a number of reasons (administrative obligation, free will, retirement etc).

Usually, as we all know, the return does not occur as planned. It is postponed from year to year, and sometimes - usually under pressure from grown-up children - changes into a desire for integration. Nevertheless, for those concerned, at least in some countries, the wish to return remains and resists the passage of time.

The onset of the economic crisis ten years ago caused several countries to promote a repatriation policy. At that time, many pro-immigrant social forces in the host country openly criticised the veiled policy of repatriating, after having exploited them, migrants who were no longer needed but were unwilling to leave. To further complicate the issue, it should be added that certain countries of origin have sought to institute an effective policy for the return of their nationals, particularly when they have had a change of government. We see today the emergence of a form of bilateral negotiation, whereby a country of origin undertakes to place emigration towards a given host country under firm control provided that the latter provides vocational training of a kind which the country of origin needs but has no means of providing for its nationals. As a corollary to such an agreement, the two countries agree to issue respectively an emigration permit and a residence permit valid for a specified period of time (ten years for instance).

What can be deduced from this set of circumstances as regards measures to be taken for education and cultural development? Nobody has yet provided a convincing answer to this question, and here again we are in the realm of options. Miscellaneous arguments are put forward:

- Returns to the home country have been more frequent in recent years, whether on a voluntary basis or not. Pedagogically speaking, certain problems now arise in very concrete form. Children who have attended school in the host country and inevitably have little or no experience of the school system of their own country find themselves very much at sea when they return to (or enter) it. Their confusion is not always a merely personal matter. There are cases where the behaviour patternsthey have inherited from another country upset the school which they have now joined.

Attempts should therefore be made to harmonise (without standardising) curricula and pedagogical methods, in order to reduce transfer shocks to the minimum. This, moreover, would have the additional advantage of facilitating the integration of pupils arriving for the first time in the host country. It is also important to prepare the return, educationally and culturally, just as it is necessary to prepare the departure (usually a more difficult matter), including this in the training of teachers both in the countries of origin and in the host countries

- On the other hand, a policy aimed at preparing for return or harmonising certain educational features will inevitably be hazardous and therefore dangerous. For it runs the risk of serving, whether intentionally or not, as an incitement to leave or even as a mystification. In any case it can in some way force the hand of those concerned and further disturb schoolchildren who are already muddling their way through the jungle of the host country's school system. The responsibility for repatriation, for deciding when and how it will take place, rests with the migrants themselves and should be left to them. Any interference in this field is suspect, whatever the source, precisely because it leads to "adverse effects" and reflects a situation of world economic crisis in which migrant workers are placed in a particularly vulnerable situation.

Within these alternatives, there is still plenty of room for choice. In any case anathema serves no purpose.

4. The methodological problem

This is a particularly extensive field, intertwined with doctrinal quarrels, choices of society, traditions, disciplinary services and desires for change. The problem is not peculiar to migrants, but they show it up in a particularly sharp light and also in a harsh outline which shows how important it is in this field.

a. In the educational field

This is a very familiar issue. Should specific teaching be provided at the risk of it becoming "special" or should we include migrant pupils in the mainstream from the outset, even if it entails giving them additional help, as we do to others? There seems to be broad agreement that the host country's schools should not treat migrant children in a special way, but this opposition of principle to any form of social discrimination or segregation at school has produced no consistent and constructive proposals. It serves no purpose to deny the difficulties of migrant workers at school, the socio-cultural causes of which are now perfectly clear (and not only in the field of migration). It is important on the contrary to find the means of dealing with them in practice.

This is not all: should one give systematic priority at school to the learning of the host country's language as a foreign language, to the detriment - for a certain time - of other mainstream school subjects? Or conversely, is it better to give these children a normal schooling and temporarily neglect the linguistic aspect when assessing their performance? Each of these schools of thought accuses the other of gross error. However that may be, in the first case, how exactly can one arrange for children to catch up, as proposed? In the second case, is there not a risk of penalising the pupils socially. To take a typical example: if spelling weaknesses cause one of them to fail a secretarial examination, what justification can be offered?

Lastly, the question of training teachers and teacher trainers has long continued to remain unanswered. Superficially there is unanimity. Everyone seems convinced that the key to every educational door lies here. However, a closer look reveals divergencies: some want to begin by changing the mentalities and attitudes of the teaching profession, while others believe that it is a question of increasing their knowledge, particularly of the migration problem. One thing above all others is symptomatic in this respect: all countries are agreed in recognising that the training of teachers and trainers in a given country is the responsibility of that country first and foremost.

b. In the cultural field

The same conflicting attitudes are to be found here. At first sight, everyone seems to hold the same views: it is important to encourage self-generated innovation and self-inspired development, ie to enable migrants themselves to take charge of their own cultural affairs. But, when one looks closely into the practical means of achieving this, the cracks begin to appear.

For instance, how does one provide training in leadership (animateurs)? If it is by leaving it entirely to the group itself, will it not heighten the ghetto effect which is more prevalent here than in any other field. If one applies a mixed method, how can one be certain of having a non-"interventionist" (from anyone outside) and how can one avoid the danger of take-over, manipulation or deformation (even involuntary).

What is meant in practice by organising a (cultural) exchange between a dominant culture and a dominated culture, however much goodwill there may be on both sides? Is it not inevitable that one should oscillate, even unwittingly, between a temptation to assimilate (by both parties) and a temptation to isolate and hence segregate (ditto)?

All in all, therefore, there remains a host of questions and debatable points, of which we have cited only a few, and one cannot proceed with impunity as if this were not so, or as if one could settle these problems by decree (recommendations, directives etc) or, again, as if the future development of knowledge and techniques were about to produce a convincing scientific reply to all of them. The question lies elsewhere, at a much deeper level than the will of administrations and the beliefs of scientists. And these are not purely rhetorical questions but are daily embodied in down-to-earth realities, remote from bureaucracies and technocracies. The first thing to accept is that they are genuine questions to which the replies are not ready made, but must be continually thought up anew, in the knowledge that, once they have been found (even if they are satisfactory), other questions will inevitably arise. Knowing also that if one were to decide to ignore these questions on the ground that there is no end to them, there would be an enormous risk of paving the way for violent clashes to occur.

III. OUTLINE PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

To draw up a programme, like a contract, demands that one should take all the foregoing points seriously, ie try to cover all phenomena that face us today in the field of the educational and cultural life of migrants. That is why our proposals for action stem from what has been said above and not vice versa.

Once again, this is not intended to be exhaustive, but is an attempt to lay down a course of action which is both desirable and feasible.

1. General, across-the board action

Underlying (or beyond) the component diversities which we have discussed, there is a level of intervention which is general in scope and which aims to achieve across-the-board effects (or, if one prefers, a relative universality). only a few examples will be given, for further suggestion and elaboration.

a. Human rights

In the case of migrant populations, this concept is obviously not limited to a form of abstract humanism (although such humanism is by no means negligible) but refers to specific historical situations, here and now, specific backgrounds; none of these concrete dimensions should be left out. Ways and means can, of course, be of many kinds (and co-ordinated):

- human rights education in actual teaching,

- ad hoc teaching materials,

- use of the media (presentation of problems, accounts of experiments etc),

- cultural treatment of the subject,

- proposals for legal coverage and codification of principles.

b. Values and outlooks

Knowledge of them and respect for them go hand in hand and are the aim of multilateral action, as with for human rights, where the general, across-the-board dimension should neither obscure, nor be obscured by, the concrete circumstances of real life situations. This is another case where the steps to be taken may assume many forms:

- precise and clearly circumscribed anthropological studies: ethnographical analysis of cultural practices, beliefs and ways of life; analyses also of material through which values and outlooks are conveyed: for instance, school textbooks or widely circulated cultural works,

- courses to create an understanding of the methods underlying such anlayses,

- information courses on various cultures, their underlying principles, their coherence and their inherent contradictions (needless to say that this includes the cultures of host countries),

- pedagogical tools to enable teachers and pupils to work on the complex reality of values and outlooks,

- cultural treatment of the subject,

- use of the media as sources of concrete information.

c. The intercultural approach

This potentially yields a synthesis of these general, across-the-board schemes and constitutes both the underlying principle and their end product. It is therefore based on the same measures, to which must be added:

- exchanges (school correspondence, travel, bi-lingual publications, debates etc),

- systematic comparisons, since the comparative method is the best way of eradicating value judgments,

- the pin-pointing of those factors which make up racialism, xenophobia, ostracism.

2. Contextualised action

This is action which takes direct account of the diversities characteristic of migration situations in Europe. The aim is to treat such problems in context, not on the basis of preconceived ideas but in the light of realities met with everywhere in different ways, which thus call for varied solutions adapted to the circumstances. A few broad sectors may be mentioned, but there are obviously others since, by definition, we are dealing here with limited contexts.

a. In teaching

- studies of the professional, civic and social language needs of the various categories of migrant groups,
- interculturally oriented pedagogical material geared to local conditions and produced on at least a bilateral basis,
- pedagogical material for teaching the foreign (host) language specifically to migrant learners (who will be learning this foreign language in a context where it is, in fact, the mother tongue). This is an original methodological pattern compared with conventional foreign language teaching,
- pedagogical material for teaching the mother tongue in the context of the host country,
- inclusion of the intercultural dimension (with adequate supporting material) in the initial and further training of teachers,
- pedagogical material for introducing pupils, teachers and parents to foreign cultures (including the host culture),
- introduction to comparative education.

b. In the socio-cultural field

- systematic use of the media to illustrate multicultural situations in a given country and pave the way to the intercultural outlook,
- material for stimulating activity as part of the community's various kinds of cultural life (theatre, singing, sports, video etc),
- inclusion of the intercultural dimension (with suitable supporting material) in the initial and further training of activity leaders - animateurs,
- various forms of assistance (resources, advice, replies etc) to spontaneous cultural activities.

3. Co-ordinating measures

The purpose of such action is to vitalise a system by putting all these elements into touch with one another, whether it be contextualised actions with each other, or with general across-the-board actions. This is the crucial link which can give substance to a genuine intercultural outlook which combats closed circles, isolation, mutual ignorance and dense barriers. Here again, there can be various kinds of methods, which are difficult to define in advance. A few are quoted below:

- systematic institutionalised meetings between the school and socio-cultural sectors,

- jointly organised activities, mainly to make people aware of the multicultural realities of a society,

- common series of training activities,

- exchanges: for instance in connection with the study or use of the artistic heritage (musical, literary etc) of a given country,

- joint parent-teacher schemes,

- liaison between various groups of migrants in the same host country,

- systematic dissemination, for mutual use, of information, products, achievements for intentions which are inspired by the intercultural approach.

4. Combinations of theory and practice

This is obviously the methodological backbone of any action which hopes to be effective in the education and cultural development of migrants (as in other fields). The approach has already been discussed earlier: a flexible and adjustable task-sharing in the light of a jointly defined objective and an allocation of roles based on responsibilities and skills, which itself must be previously negotiated.

On this basis, several types of action would clearly be necessary and are worth considering:

- practical schemes, which will very largely be tied to a particular context, the responsibility for which lies with the practitioners themselves (who will decide whether or not to seek outside help),

- systematic exploration on the practical plane, the initiative for which must be taken by practitioners, who will be obliged to negotiate on an equal basis with the theorists,

- systematic exploration, theoretically initiated but needing a testing-ground for practical application, and therefore necessitating negotiation on an equal basis with the practitioners,

- jointly decided and defined investigations,

- theoretical research, which is the responsibility of the theorists themselves (who will decide whether or not to seek outside help),

- the development of action-research.

The creation of a series of pedagogical exercises would belong to the first category, a study of the reasons for lack of success at school would belong to the second, an investigation into the attitudes of a given age-group to television would be part of the third, whereas the drawing up of a code of values in a particular local community might illustrate the fifth category. As for the fourth, by its very nature, such investigations can potentially be conducted into any type of subject.

To this must be added the imperative methodological need for functional intermediaries (as yet bitterly lacking) between theorists and practitioners who would be capable of establishing a two-way link between them (by understanding theory and translating it into practice, and by knowing about practice and explaining its theoretical requirements).

It must be emphasised in conclusion that the sine qua non of progress lies in the introduction of joint activities associating host countries and countries or origin, as well as various partners, the migrant communities themselves heading the list, each of course remaining responsible and independent in its own affairs. Without this intermingling, this co-operation at all levels, there will be no interculturalism to the shame of all.

ANNEXE II
APPENDIX II

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M. Juan PINEIRO, Sous-Directeur Général de la Formation, de l'Education et de la Culture, Institut espagnol des migrations, Ambassade d'Espagne, 6, rue Greuze - 75116 PARIS (1982)

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GROUPE DE TRAVAIL SUR LA FORMATION DES MAITRES CHARGES DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DISPENSE AUX ENFANTS DE MIGRANTS/WORKING GROUP ON THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANTS' CHILDREN

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